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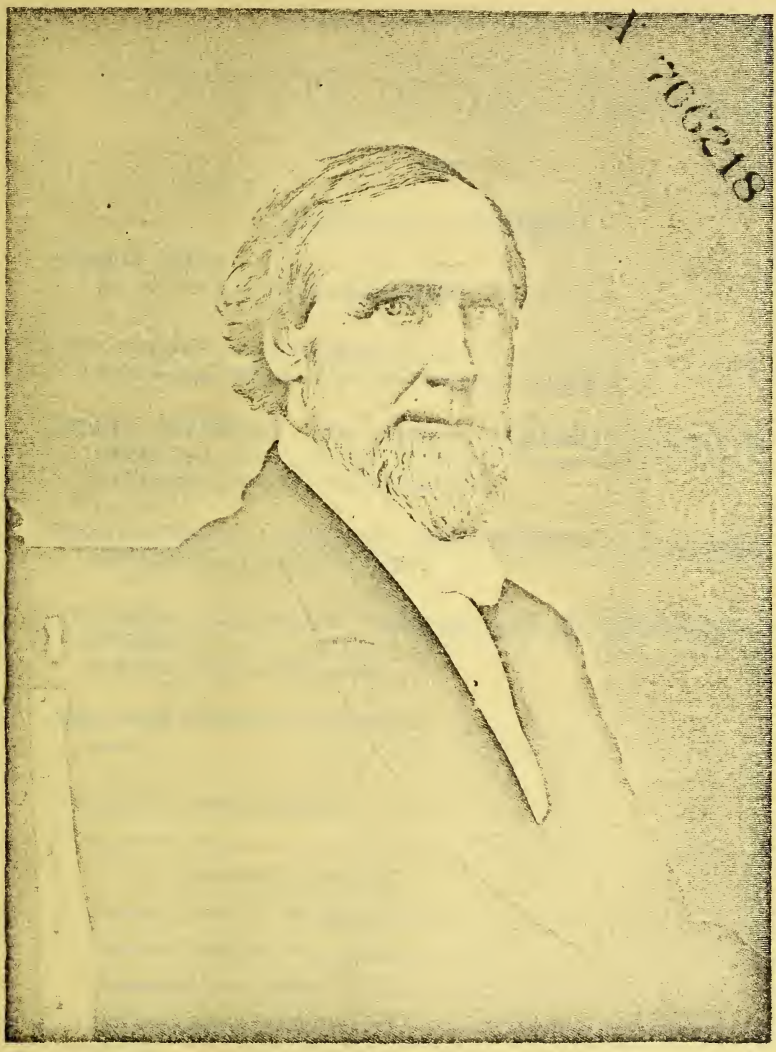

REV. I. W. WILEY, L. L. D.

LATE

One of the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

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METHODIST REVIEW.

JANUARY, 1886.

ART. I.—BISHOP WILEY.

IN a hundred years the Methodist Episcopal Church has had forty Bishops (including the Missionary Bishops for Africa), of whom twenty-seven are now deceased. Number twenty-seven on the roll, in order of election, and the same on the mortality list, is Isaac W. Wiley, M.D., D.D., LL.D., who was chosen to the episcopal office in 1872 and died in 1884.

The Church now sees how felicitous, almost to a point implying prescience, was the supervision which arranged that the General Conference in Philadelphia last year should be closed by the two Bishops who were to die within six months—by Simpson's wise and loving valedictory and Wiley's solemn and tender prayer, each being a last utterance in the hearing of any American Conference.

ISAAC WILLIAM WILEY, son of a grain merchant, was born from three generations of American ancestry, at Lewistown, Pennsylvania, beside the Juniata and in the shadow of the Alleghanies, March 29, 1825. He was led to the "mourner's bench" by his saintly Sunday-school teacher when ten years old, but he never could remember the time when he did not love God and his people and all his works. At fourteen he was in the academy preparing for college, "with settled convictions for the ministry;" at sixteen, assistant class-leader; at seventeen, exhorter; at eighteen, local preacher. A memorable revival sweeping through the region took the boy-preacher out of school to go about praying and exhorting with flaming enthusiasm day and night for months. Zeal untempered by discre-

tion carried him to such excesses that when the wonderful meetings ended, in the spring of 1843, his throat was about ruined. Six months of mild weather and vocal rest failed to restore his voice, and his career as a preacher was regarded as closed, if indeed health were not injured beyond repair. The next winter, while teaching a country school with difficulty, he meditated what he should do. In the spring of 1844, the ministry seeming impossible, he began studying medicine, and shortly entered on a two years' course in the medical department of the University of New York. While there his throat recovered its tone, so that when he had his medical preparation he also had his voice, the loss of which had driven him to medicine, and the question of his life-work, supposed settled, was again a problem. To preach or practice, cure of bodies or of souls, which? Advice urged both ways. Sturdy Jacob Gruber fairly commanded him to preach. But the young man's affections were involved—he was on the point of wedding Miss Frances J. Martin, a devout young lady of Mifflin, and married preachers could not hope for admission to Conference. Good Father Gruber wanted to cut at once the Gordian knot and the wedding knot, now as good as tied, saying, "Give up marriage and medicine for the itinerant's saddle and circuit!" This was too much for the young man, perplexed at the uncertain purpose of Providence, which turned him to medicine and then embarrassed his way; so in the autumn of 1846 he married and settled to medical practice in Western Pennsylvania. A winter's work with little pay and no satisfaction put him into profound trouble of mind as to duty. The ministry urging its claims afresh by lips of pastor and presiding elder, he allowed his name to go next spring to the Pittsburg Conference, only to be rejected with the answer, "No room for married men." Clearly the door to the ministry was shut in his face. Duty must lie the other way. He must cease to divide his thoughts by preaching, wean himself from the love of it, and give his mind wholly to his appointed profession. His heart's earliest and dearest hope he must bury without a funeral.

Seeking a more promising field for practice in the eastern part of the State, he would go to it purely as a physician, leaving his local preacher's license forever behind, which decision

he announced to his pastor. But Providence easily overturns unapproved plans, and Dr. Wiley had hardly reached his chosen field at Pottsville when Rev. J. B. Hagany, then minister at that place, met him with the information that he had received from Wiley's late pastor his certificate as a member and also local preacher; and the young doctor, who had decided that he was done with the pulpit, actually received his first introduction to the community he had just entered by preaching the next Sunday evening, by urgent request of the pastor, in the Methodist church. Three years he practiced medicine in Pottsville and Port Carbon, a successful but unhappy man. Skillful in his work and inspiring confidence, he won his way to general recognition. A feeling grew in the neighborhood that he was destined to eminence as a doctor, the only obstacle being that his reputation in medicine was in danger of eclipse from his more rapidly spreading popularity as a preacher, for he could not keep out of the pulpit. His mind went more to theology than to therapeutics. He was happy every hour when he could put off the doctor and put on the minister. Within him the will of God was prospering, the primal passion of his soul kindling apace, and, without, faithful voices kept saying to young *medicus*, on his extending rounds, "You have missed your calling, and are out of place!" Once more the pressure of swelling conviction burst his set plans asunder, and in the spring of 1850 his name went up for conditional presentation to the Philadelphia Conference. There was no room. At this juncture the unexpected came to pass. Dr. Durbin, fresh in the missionary office, was foraging for men for the mission field, and pounced on Wiley's name as it lay in the presiding elder's hand. "China wants a medical missionary," he said; "give me this man."

Shortly a message from the missionary secretary exploded like a hand-grenade in the presumptively settled order of the Port Carbon doctor's life, breaking to view unlooked-for possibilities. Awe-struck, as at the sound of God's voice, the young husband and wife knelt by the cradle in their little home and said, "Amen! The will of the Lord be done!"

And now it was apparent why for seven years Providence had held him in uncertainty between medicine and the ministry, unable to escape either, notwithstanding attempts to withdraw

from first the one and then the other. Foochow was to need a missionary physician, and sixteen thousand miles away, on the banks of the Schuylkill, the local-preacher-doctor was preparing unawares, baffled, distracted, vexed with vague unrest, and perplexed about his life until God's hour struck and the reason of things stood clear. Presently came Dr. Durbin to arrange the matter with them at their fireside, and Dr. Wiley engaged to be ready for China in a year. Closing up his practice during the summer, he spent the fall and winter in New York city pursuing special studies in medicine. Having been received, on request of the missionary office, into the Genesee Conference, he was transferred to the Philadelphia, where Bishop Janes ordained him deacon and elder in March, 1851. On the 15th of that month Dr. Wiley and his wife, with baby Adah, sailed for China.

They arrived at Hong-Kong, by way of the Cape of Good Hope, in ninety-six days, and reached Foochow July 9. Four months afterward affliction overtook them. Mrs. Wiley's health gave way in November, and their first winter was one of illness and anxiety. The next April the sick wife was told that, medical treatment having proved vain, her only hope of recovery lay in return to America; to which she answered that she would rather stay and die at Foochow than take her husband from the work in which his soul was absorbed. Shortly, however, disease abated and a good degree of health returned. No sooner had she rallied than Dr. Wiley began to fail rapidly. In September an attack of dysentery for six weeks threatened his life, and for ten days caused it to be entirely despaired of. When he had gone through all the mental part of dying, and most of the physical, favorable symptoms appeared, his life being saved by his wife's tender nursing and close attention from his associate, Dr. White, and Dr. Wilton of the English mission.

During the fall and winter they had their one brief season of quietness in China, with comparative comfort, and opportunity to work. Two native boys about fifteen years of age were taken into Dr. Wiley's family to be taught and trained. He toiled at the tough language, cared for the sick of our own and the American Board missions, and attended the public dispensary twice a week to treat all applicants, Chinese patients, numbering fifty a day, sometimes rising to two hundred. Besides, he had

charge of a school of thirty-two boys, with whom he daily prayed, sang, explained the Scriptures, and taught the Christian religion—all in Chinese. Of his fellow-missionaries in those days, none of whom exceeded him in effort, he speaks as "meeting grave difficulties and performing gigantic labors."

The spring was broken in upon by national disturbance and alarm, and the summer of 1853 was nothing less than dreadful to Dr. Wiley and his family. Woes and horrors combined to make it an *Inferno*. That strange movement, the Taiping rebellion, which kept China in commotion fourteen years until crushed in 1864 by Chinese Gordon and Li Hung Chang at the head of "The Ever-victorious Army," was then in the flush of its greatest triumph.

The Hakka school-master, Hung Sew-tseuen, a sort of semi-Christian El Mahdi, after brooding seventeen years over one of Dr. Morrison's Bible tracts, taking the title of "The Heavenly King," and forming societies of "God-worshipers" until his movement took a political turn and came into collision with government, had started on his northward march from Woosewen in the southern province of Kwang-Si in January, 1851. For over two years he was moving up through the provinces of Hoo-Nan and Hoo-Pe, and on March 19, 1853, took Nanking, the second metropolis of the empire, ending his promenade under the famous Porcelain Tower, which he razed to the ground where it had stood graceful and glittering for four hundred years. The news of this victory blew the spirit of insurrection into blaze wherever it went. Fierce hordes of pirates from the coast, robbers from the mountains, and a motley rabble from the interior rolled waves of destruction over prosperous regions, burning villages and butchering populations—peaceful people fleeing for their lives before the tide of blood and flame. One stream of the successful rebellion swept along down from Nanking between Foochow and the mountains on the west. On the south Amoy was captured by the rebels. Foochow itself was threatened by murder, pillage, and atrocities of every kind with which the insurgents were devastating the district of Saong-hu, a little north-west, in which direction the night-horizon was lit with a lurid aurora. Approaching along the river Min the rebellion brought its slaughter near enough to send scores of mangled bodies float-

ing daily down past Foochow. Dismay and consternation seized the populace. The city was put under martial law. Outside supplies being cut off, food became scarce. Banks closed. Stores and dwellings were looted by lawless mobs in search of money or provisions. Foreign residents were warned by the governor that they could have no protection from him, but must look out for themselves. Many fled. The Maclay and Colder families of our mission left Foochow, May 12, to find security under the British flag at Hong-Kong. Dr. Wiley with intrepid coolness and calm pertinacity determined to remain, although the mission itself had gone off to safe quarters. During that terrible summer and autumn he and his wife were the only missionaries of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Foochow. Their dwelling, in a lonely and exposed situation, was several times entered by robbers at night, and they were obliged to change to one of the vacant houses of the American Board, an abandoned and dilapidated building in which they suffered intense discomfort. Of those days he has written:

> It was a season of immense trial. The summer was fearfully hot, and the city constantly in a state of feverish alarm. A typhoon did vast damage along the coast, and was followed by flood in the city four feet deep in the streets. We were driven to the upper story of our flood-bound house and kept there for more than a week. After the water subsided we were surrounded by a pestilential deposit of the reeking filth of a Chinese city.

The health of Dr. and Mrs. Wiley failed steadily through the scorching and miserable months. A trip down the river in the latter part of July for a few days of purer air and relief from the foul, intolerable city, resulted disastrously. An appalling tempest of wind and rain broke over them at their anchorage. For nine boisterous and drenching days the perilous storm raged upon their little boat. The strain and exposure told severely upon them. When the gale abated, they returned to Foochow seriously worse. Most of August and September both were confined to their beds with debilitating, distressing, and dangerous disease. Under the enormous burden of prolonged misery Mrs. Wiley sank, and died on the third of November.

What a summer! War, tornado, flood, filth, tumult, terror,

heat like a furnace, loneliness, wasting sickness, death, burial, desolation! After Dante had written "The Inferno," and the Florentines had read it, they used to look at him with a kind of awe as he passed by, and speak of him under their breath as "The man who has seen hell." Dr. Wiley might have been so spoken of as that terrible year (1853) drew to its melancholy close and saw the poor tremulous, emaciated young missionary hovering piteously over his helpless babies, with pale face and broken heart, but with unflinching soul, for it was never so lonely but that God seemed to be there.

This tragic and pathetic story is rehearsed, not as mere history, but because the character of Bishop Wiley cannot be comprehended except from a knowledge of those early trials. Foochow was a furnace out of which the gold that came was purified of dross. Rare patience, courage, faith, unselfishness, and spiritual power, developed and perfected there, were ever after part of his endowment and resource. No severer test could ever be put upon him, and the Church was certified as to his quality. A sorely chastened, purified, and heroic though shattered man, holding two motherless children in his arms, was brought to the port of New York from China, in April, 1854, by the good ship *Houqua*. "That is home, my little girls," he said to Adah and Anna, as he lifted them above the bulwarks at first sight of the American coast.

Four years of quiet unsensational pastorates in Asbury Church, Staten Island; Halsey Street, Newark; and Trinity, Jersey City, during which his health gradually recovered from the disastrous experiences of China, were enough to make the New Jersey Conference aware that a man whose modest bearing did not conceal his uncommon powers had been tossed by Providence upon its territory; so that when Pennington Seminary was in such financial straits that Dr. Crane, then principal, refused to undertake another year, and the trustees, in dire perplexity looked about for some one of sufficient ability and courage for the well-nigh desperate task, their thoughts converged on the returned missionary, then thirty-three years old.

Dr. Wiley coolly took up the heavy load and saved the sinking institution, enlarged its scope, relieved its finances, more than doubled the attendance, and set it forward on a new career. But while doing it he was a subject for the

advice Sydney Smith gave Brougham, to content himself with doing three men's work. To eke out the support of his family, he added to his seminary burdens at different times the pastorate of Princeton and of State Street, Trenton. His success was complete, but cost him his health, and in July, 1863, he resigned the principalship into the hands of Rev. D. C. Knowles, and rented the "Brown House" on the west border of the campus for a nine-months' rest.

No part of his life gave him more satisfaction in retrospect than the Pennington years. Alone by themselves they were enough to satisfy a reasonable ambition. Hundreds of students received his powerful imprint, and ever after felt his influence, so that, when a quarter of a century had passed, and they were scattered up and down the world, their still subject and indebted minds "swayed to him from their orbits as they moved." There is to-day a multitude of his former pupils who have seen no nobler manhood, and who, in the unromantic sober sense of middle life, do not believe Carrara has any marble white enough for the carving of his pure name.

The General Conference of 1864 made him the successor of Davis W. Clark in the editorship of the "Ladies' Repository." For him once more a total shifting of scene and change of work; but in this, too, the versatile man with easy grace more than fulfilled the best expectations of Methodism. In difficult times he carried the Repository upon a high level, and after conducting it eight years he held such place in the confidence of the Church that he was promoted to its highest office, one of the nine men whom the Methodist Episcopal Church has taken directly from editorial chairs for its episcopacy; the presiding eldership having furnished eight; educational positions, seven; book agencies four; secretaryships, three; and the pastorate six. The remaining three are Coke, Asbury, and William Taylor.

He came to the episcopacy by virtue of his fitness and the spontaneous choice of the Church. Few Bishops have been before election so variously and critically tested. His capacity had been tested and his election was approved. No one could say that an ordinary man, without elevation of soul, had been lifted to a place above his level; or that a conniving place-seeker had clutched the prize he had been plotting for; or that he was a narrow man, lacking breadth of mind to match the

scope of so great an office, or rash and liable to ill-judged, imprudent, hasty action; or arbitrary and autocratic, or deficient in befitting dignity. If there were any question, it was among the uninformed whether in his placid mind and gentle spirit there could be the decision, firmness, and force requisite for large and difficult administration; but in him there was a rare combination of great force of character with the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit, which acted like the pneumatic door-spring, effectively doing its work, and without noise. He was a strong Bishop, filling the office roundly with symmetric completeness, not found wanting at any point. Familiar with the genius, intention, constitutional principles, precedential action and formulated laws of the Church, he was a competent and judicious administrator. His prudent lips uttered only sifted speech. His mind was so steadily balanced and deliberate, with no freaks or eccentricities, that it may be questioned whether any church officer in our century of organized ecclesiastical history has made fewer mistakes. There was no deficiency of originality and inventive power for devising solutions of difficulties, nor of determination and discretion to become, on needful occasions, a leader, exercising mild but dominant control. Confident of his conclusions, because careful in coming to them, his mind when made up was fixed, not in self-will but in reasons, yet always open to additional light.

As a presiding officer, he was conspicuous for ease, tact, expedition, and for guiding affairs smoothly and pleasantly. Extraordinary self-command helped him to keep control of the body he was presiding over, even in excited and turbulent sessions. Our recollections of Wiley in the chair remind us of what Grant says he saw in Lee, "a man of great dignity and impenetrable face." Conference secretaries say he was one of the most systematic of Bishops in the orderly forwarding of business. He kept work so well in hand that nothing was at loose ends where he presided.

Bishop Wiley was five feet and eight inches in height, slender, well-proportioned, weighing about one hundred and fifty pounds, with soft, light brown hair, mild blue eyes, regular features, forehead broad and high, full beard except mustache, pale face, grave and amiable expression; in manner simple and unassuming, composed and courteous. In physical

make he was much like Janes when elected, and Thomson and E. O. Haven; not at all with the massive form of Hedding, the burly figure of Ames, the square-built and sturdy frame of Kingsley, or the broad shoulders of Clark. Imperfect health kept him always slight, so that he never gained any of the roundness which filled out the person of Janes in the later years of his life.

Three things in him seemed unrelated to the uncertain and varying body—voice, will, and mental power. His mind was surprisingly independent of bodily conditions, and ill health did not perceptibly impair its action. His will-power and tenacity of purpose were often remarkable. Different in appearance, disposition, and bearing as the two men were, and likely as this statement is to be disputed, it is nevertheless true that Bishop Ames had no more strength of will than Bishop Wiley. It is noticeable that the voice which in his youth broke down completely did grand service ever after, equally in volume, tone, and moving power. His voice was a distinct part of his strongly accented individuality. There are few so smooth and firm, yet rich and resonant. At the ordination of Bishops Warren, Foss, Hurst, and E. O. Haven at Cincinnati in 1880, when the voices of all the board were put in contrast by taking part successively in the ceremony, it was remarked by several listeners that there was no more impressive tones than those of Bishop Wiley.

His greatness, however, was not of the tremendous or elephantine type. His mental organization showed smoothness, polish, lightness, and strength, like an engine of steel delicately molded yet of high power. In the movement of his faculties there was nothing ponderous or unwieldy. His life was a triumph of spirit. Always delicate, he yet did not permit himself to be distanced by the sound and healthy in the thorough and unflinching fulfillment of the arduous and onerous duties intrusted to him. A great book makes a good bishop say, "There is a bravery for the priest as well as for the colonel of dragoons." Our good Bishop's life was full of silent heroism; for large work which is meritorious when faithfully done by the strong, if done by the weak is brave and magnificent, and may have the lengthened splendor of a gradual martyrdom.

Thomas Ware objected to Coke that "his stature, complexion, and voice resembled those of a woman rather than of a man." Yet it was Coke who wrote, when friends protested with grave reasons against his going to India at the age of sixty-six to begin work as a missionary, "I had rather be set naked on the coast of Ceylon, without clothes and without a friend, than not go." No one can look at the cast of John Wesley's dead face at Drew Theological Seminary without being struck with the smallness and almost feminine delicacy of the features. Clearly bigness is not the measure, nor roughness the sign, of manhood. Brute force, bravado, pugnacity, and self-assertion obtain credit for strength not possessed. Leaving out Mr. Gladstone, if there has been in the present generation of Englishmen one absolute hero and natural-born king of men, his name was Charles George Gordon, and he was a man of delicate face, diffident manners, and gentle voice. The light-built Arabian courser has more action, fire, and endurance than the Percheron dray-horse. The slender Bishop who is the subject of this sketch had mettle, spirit, and "staying power," as well as a tamed and amiable temper and a gentleness almost feminine.

His oratory was a blending of elements of power, a spell woven of various charms. Without the least appearance of art, a deep wisdom and deft mastery deployed both thought and language. A New England college professor characterizes Bishop Wiley's preaching as "clever, adroit, with consummate skill in argument and a rare knack in putting his case." Greatest themes were presented in a plain and powerful way, and level to popular comprehension.

His sermons were usually a chain of reasoning, appealing little to the imagination. With a mind philosophic in temper, and incisive in action, he had also a gift for carrying home hard facts gathered from history, nature, and life, and sinking them in the understanding of his hearers. He wielded likewise a solemn and victorious power to overawe the conscience and move the moral nature.

One noticed in whatever Bishop Wiley said or wrote purity of taste and chaste elegance of style; no turgid, iridescent, and spangled rhetoric, but close thinking and hard finish, simplicity unadorned by play of fancy, scarce any picturing or

description, few anecdotes or illustrations, but logical coherence, and luminous and cumulative reasoning. Facility of thought and fluency of utterance made him valuable to the Church as a uniformly effective platform speaker. Dr. Buckley's editorial statement, that "As an extemporaneous speaker of the unexcited type, we have not heard his equal in the Church nor his superior in the legal profession," needs very little qualification or abatement. Familiar with all Church interests and appreciating living issues, he was always prepared to speak with impressive fitness and ability. Without time for special preparation he spoke sometimes on topics supposed to be new to him with apparent readiness, his information seeming ample, his mind as if a saturated solution of the subject, and his affluent resources immediately available. He had keen powers of observation, an assimilative and growing mind to which knowledge was nutriment and not incrustation, with a retentive and orderly memory. His thoughts were active on advanced lines of all questions concerning the Church.

Perhaps his most captivating and brilliant oratory was in the educational and editorial periods of his life, at Pennington and Cincinnati. The war-years found him in the prime of early manhood and set him on fire, till his whole being was like a full furnace with coals well stirred and drafts all on. Eloquent and mighty work he did in those years for Liberty and Union, and the life of the nation. In later life he was often worn, sometimes jaded, and his preaching, while always animated, strong, spiritual, and soul-nourishing, lacked the splendid fire and contagiousness of more vigorous and spirited years.

A gentler man has not been seen in Methodism. His courtesy was uniform—as marked to the dependent and lowly as to the highest in social or official position. The voice of the Cincinnati Book Concern is, that no man ever connected with it has held a warmer place in the esteem of its working force, the reason of which is not obscure. A friend going one day into his editorial office found him evidently ill and suffering. "Dr. Wiley," said he, "you should go home; you are not fit to be here." The quiet reply was, "Yes, I ought, but if I do [naming a type-setter] will lose a day's work, and I can afford to suffer better than he can afford to lose his time," and the sick

editor went on furnishing copy. No laborer, of whatever grade, was ever long associated with him without regarding him as a friend, so humane, considerate, and forbearing was he. One of his most devoted admirers was a hired man that lived with him for years, who habitually closed his frequent and fervent eulogies with, "Indade he's always the same foine gintleman to rich and poor."

His sensibility was more for others than for himself. Probably the most severe-sounding utterance ever known from him was at one of his early Conferences, when a member of the body arose on the floor and asked the Bishop what course he would take with reference to certain matters. The question did not admit a categorical reply, but Bishop Wiley answered as explicitly as he could. The inquiry was at once reiterated, and again the answer courteously given. To his surprise the query was immediately renewed the third time. Standing silent a moment, with a wondering, puzzled, half-amused air, the Bishop, looking first at his interlocutor and then at the Conference, said, "Well, I have given my statement, but I cannot give the brother brains." No unkindness was meant. The situation put him at a loss what else to say. Seeing his brother wounded by his words, he made generous haste in the manliest manner to remove the sting and heal the hurt.

Strangers were apt to think him reserved and distant, but nearer approach found a friendly and responsive nature. There was little of active self-ingratiation into the favor of his fellow-men. His friendships were not made, they grew; not by invention or policy, but by arrangement of natural affinity and providential ordering. He was not a man with whom one could extemporize an intimacy. The sedate and undemonstrative exterior did not seem to invite intercourse, nor did it excite expectations not to be fulfilled. He displayed self-knowledge when, in a brotherly letter, he described his friendships as "not ardent and impulsive, but pure, sincere, accumulative, and enduring." His heart had a good memory and took up intercourse where it left off the last time. With no profuseness in word or manner, there was a deep reservoir of unforgetting fidelity, and the silent implications of his friendship were certain to be sacredly honored. Perhaps few pressed with official correspondence and other exactions of the episco-

pacy have written a larger number of purely friendly letters. He loved to have men draw near to him, and lamented that so many hold aloof from whoever is a Bishop. He expressed gratitude for a kindly letter, saying: "I have found that the high places are the cold places."

It has been remarked that the profound sensibility which is of the spirit rather than of the nerves is sure to be named coldness by weaker natures whose susceptibilities are chiefly nervous. In Bishop Wiley a sensitive texture was made to look like impassiveness by an almost stoical self-control. The marble-like exterior was not stone but flesh, veined with warm life-blood, a net-work of nerves; and yet without any thing flinty or frigid in his nature his self-command was inflexible. Intense feeling was indicated by a deeper pallor of countenance and a slight quiver of voice.

On Saturday morning, September 16, 1882, he came with face unusually pale and lips compressed into the Des Moines Conference at Winterset, Iowa, where he was presiding. After the opening exercises he arose and announced the substance of the terrible telegram he held in his hand. Appointing a chairman, he retired with the presiding elders to his room, completed the appointments, and, leaving the Conference to finish by itself, took the train at 2 P. M. for his desolate home, to lay away the charred remains of his Willie—"Willie" always to him, though he cast a man's vote and took a man's coffin.

Met by two friends at the station in Cincinnati, he said, calmly, "Tell me all, just how it happened. I believe in God, and the storm has struck me so often that I have gotten down to bed-rock." Immediately after the funeral he was due at the Upper Iowa Conference at Cedar Rapids. Dr. Kynett presided until his arrival. Entering the Conference room he made a brief explanation of his detention, affirmed his unshaken confidence in the Lord, and then took up the work, saying: "Please, brethren, make no allusion to my bereavement, but let us attend strictly to business."

When that singularly ethereal man, Dr. T. H. Stockton, chosen chaplain for the third time in 1860 at the age of fifty-one, was delivering his opening discourse in the Hall of Representatives in Washington, under the stress of a fresh domestic

sorrow, he could not close his salutatory sermon without crying out: "Only four months ago by these same fingers the eyes of my dear little Jessie were closed in death. That was a more important event to me than the rise, progress, and fall of a thousand empires. Pity me, O pity me!" and the quivering man moved the whole Congress to tears. Bishop Wiley felt no less keenly when the iron went into his soul, but firm-laced lips would not let the anguish cry out. He bore it in silence, hero-fashion, or referred to it only in private and with repressive brevity. The strain of this firm self-control was so great and his sensibility so keen that every added affliction broke his strength and left him for the time prostrate. It was so in China in 1853; so in Cincinnati, when death broke up his home in 1866; so in Boston in 1874, when his "missionary boy," Charlie, was abruptly snatched away in convulsions; so in 1882, when his only remaining son, William Ellsworth, was flashed out of life in a blaze of sudden fire. In each case his health succumbed to the heart-tension, and every time there was less resilience from prostration. These and other sorrows, equally bitter, which eclipsed the gayety of the world and wore out life, did not affect the tranquil steadiness of his religion. He saw rough weather indeed, but under no stress did faith drag anchor or slip cable and go driving on rocks in starless, unbeaconed darkness.

Much of Bishop Wiley's journeying was on the Jericho road where plundered humanity lies bleeding. Starting as a physician and a missionary, setting broken bones, couching cataracts in blind eyes, and excising tumors with his hands while teaching Christ with his lips, his life was helpful in healing the open sores of the world. Called first to treat the proud-flesh of paganism, and, later, unhealed stripes upon the black man's back, and the ulcer eating out virtue and decency in Utah. President of the Freedmen's Aid Society for fourteen years, nothing transpired in the office or in the field without his notice; indeed, he was one of its founders, and scarce any thing from its organization until his death was done without his counsel. He knew the ground in the South almost inch by inch, and no Bishop spent more time studying its problems. In the planning of nearly all our twenty-five institutions of learning in Southern States he had some share, and the school

at Marshall, Texas, bears his name. While dying on the other side of the globe, he murmurs a desire to visit his "poor people" of the South once more. His people they were—he sat at their tables, prayed at their family altars, and lived in their houses when among them. Having our Montana and Utah missions under his supervision for years, his work is an integral part of the efforts of Methodism against the Moloch of Mormonism and on behalf of the people under its curse.

Presiding over more than a hundred Conference sessions, making an episcopal tour to Germany, Switzerland, and Scandinavia, and two official visits to Japan and China, ordaining eight hundred deacons and six hundred elders, writing fifteen thousand official letters—such summaries give some slight idea of the service rendered in his twelve years' episcopate; and the value of his benign, many-sided life is beyond the power of computation.

His course, so far as self-direction ruled, was a steered progress in heavenly trade-winds, keeping life close-hauled to righteous duty. So far as the Church ordered his career, it was a steady advancement from one unsought position of honor and trust to another, until placed beyond promotion. His official history is remarkable for smooth and serene regularity, without conflicts, storms, or agitation; passing many transitions, from stage to stage, without struggles or perturbations, he reached his high summit-level, which proved in his case a field for usefulness, rather than a goal for rest.

He graced the office of Bishop with simple but perfect dignity, impressive mental power, a mild and equable temper, unsparing assiduity, pure and unpretentious piety. His life was devoted to spreading scriptural holiness over the world, and he was himself an example of the particular type of holiness of which the Church is most in need; holiness louder in the life than on the lips, bringing its convincing evidence to the minds of all who are more impressed by character than by profession.

Bishop Wiley was the only man ever elected to the episcopal office who had been a foreign missionary. Although his stay in that field was, perforce, brief, he was ever a missionary at heart. It is part of the historic dignity and moral grandeur of his life that he was one of the pioneer laborers of the Method-

ist Episcopal Church among the heathen—in fact, the fifth man sent out by that body to any pagan people. In three years after the beginning of our earliest attempt to Christianize the heathen he was in the field, Foochow being the point of our first mission to a pagan nation.*

As for the importance of his part in that pioneer work it is credible that the medical labors of Dr. Wiley made earlier and deeper impression on the ignorant heathen among whom he practiced the healing art than any other phase of Christian activity. In the "Fortnightly Review" of September, 1879, Herbert Giles writes: "Of all missionaries to China the medical missionaries have achieved the greatest successes."

No fact of Bishop Wiley's record is more noticeable than the way he was identified with China. He traveled many circuits of duty, but from China he set out, and thither, by the gravitation of his own heart and the orderings of Providence, he at last returned. His first appointment and his last were to China, his first book and his last were about it; first and last he talked more about Foochow than any other place on earth. Even in boyhood, when the vision of a missionary's work visited him, the Central Flowery Kingdom took chief place in the geography of his heart. Life was uneasy and dissatisfied until he was settled in the mission field. Then, for the first, "contented and happy" were frequent words in his letters. He felt he had found his vocation and place. Surrounded with formidable difficulties, he writes, in his second year at Foochow, "Our buoyant faith, as though endowed with elasticity, develops more strongly as it is pressed more heavily from without."

Driven finally from the field, broken, stripped, and nearly slain, he writes from his native town within a week after landing, to Dr. D. W. Clark: "My affections and desires are still in Foochow, and if matters can be arranged, I think I might before long venture to return. I could only die at most, and I am willing to die in China." He is no sooner ashore than

* The work opened in Liberia in 1833 was among colonists rather than natives, while that at Buenos Ayres in 1836 was in a Roman Catholic country, and, moreover, not among natives, but foreign residents, and a Methodist class-meeting with eight or ten members was in regular operation there before we sent our first missionary.

he begins to prepare a volume memorial of "The Fallen Missionaries of Foochow." Having charge of a church on Staten Island, he arranges exhibitions of Chinese articles illustrative of home-life, religion, industry, and art, with explanatory talks. It was by going to borrow for such an exhibition a set of sixty pieces of china in the possession of Captain Travis that he made acquaintance with Miss Addie Travis, who afterward, although a member of the Reformed Dutch Church, became Mrs. Wiley. The three churches of which he was pastor were well instructed as to China and its missions. His powerful missionary discourses are remembered in all parts of New Jersey. When his first boy, Charles Travis, was born at Pennington, he called him, in joyous hope, "Our missionary boy," dedicated him to the Lord for that work if so it should please him, and as years went on so infused the love of missions that the growing boy gave promise of fulfilling the father's desire, and spent the last winter of his life in Boston making a study of Africa. His death in his sixteenth year caused the bereaved father to wonder deeply at the ways of God. The "Methodist Quarterly Review" of April, 1862, contains an article by I. W. Wiley, M. D., on "China as a Mission-Field." The "Ladies' Repository," from 1864 to 1872, shows, both in contributed articles and in editorial matter, the conviction of its editor as to the importance of missionary information to the Church. When made Bishop he was given episcopal supervision of all our work in China, and retained it until his death, except as it was occasionally interrupted by the visit of some other Bishop to that field. It is said in China, "No other Bishop knew us half so well, or loved us half so much." His pre-eminent knowledge makes it fair to say that in any circle where Chinese affairs were under discussion, "when he spoke, the wisest next to him was he who listened."

The year 1877 was a jubilee to Bishop Wiley. It was then his happy duty to make an official tour among our missions in China, which filled him with joy unspeakable at beholding what God had wrought. He saw with eyes dim with gratitude the substantial walls of Chinese Christianity rising course by course, a few of the foundation-stones of which he had sacrificed his dearest treasure, and well-nigh his own life, to lay. The land which then saw his grief now witnessed his gladness. The contrast between China as he left it in 1854 and as he

found it in 1877 was great and blessed. Then the prospects of the infant mission were dismal and discouraging. Seven years of toil, expense, and suffering seemed to have gone for nothing. The whole atmosphere was hostile, the temper of the natives sullen and menacing. Hatred and contempt would forbid the foreigner a foothold. Disaster followed on disaster, and nothing flourished in connection with our mission except the cemetery. Sickness interfered with work, and resulted in successive burials, so that natives noticed rather the number of missionary graves than any fruits of missionary labors; and a Christian funeral was a heathen festival—they believed the proper place for missionaries to be under the sod.*

On New Year's day, 1852, Dr. Wiley, laboring in the cheerless gloom of Foochow, wrote to Dr. D. W. Clark: "Doubtless the troubled night of toil here will be succeeded in due time by a day of light and rejoicing." That glad morning his own eyes saw, for on New Year's day, twenty-six years later, in that same city, he had completed the organization of an Annual Conference, with six presiding elders' districts, two hundred preaching places, thirty-four traveling and sixty local ministers, and over two thousand lay members, and laid his hand on the head of the fourth generation of Chinese Methodists. Closing that first session of the Foochow Conference on December 25, he writes:

> This being Christmas Day we could not but think of the celebrated Christmas Conference of 1784 for the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States, and felt that, though in a humbler measure, we were now organizing the same Church in the vast Empire of China. It is not impossible that in the next hundred years there may be an almost equally large and powerful Methodist Episcopal Church in this greatest nation of Asia.

Recording his departure from Foochow in January, 1878, he says:

> When my long-anticipated visit to the dear old field of labor was over I gazed tenderly on the receding shores, sad with the

* This malignant spirit still opposes mission progress into new territory. As late as 1879 the inhabitants of Chang-Sha, capital of Hoo-Nan, on the approach of missionaries toward their city, placarded on the walls, for the purpose of inciting the populace to violence, "The foreign devils are coming. Remember that when a foreigner is killed it is only a dog's life that is lost."

feeling that I was now probably done with China, and was looking for the last time on the scenery of Foochow. I do believe, if all things were arranged at home, I would be quite willing to spend the rest of my days in China.

In the spring of 1884, although it was not his turn to take the China trip, he made persistent request for the privilege of going, and his episcopal associates, knowing his sorrows, and thinking the change from routine duties, and the month each way upon the sea might be relief to his mind and revive his energies, felt constrained to indulge his wish. He had no premonition that he should die there, but knew his strength was diminishing, and wished to take that journey while still able. During the General Conference, though taking full share in its work, he was noticed at the house of Mr. George W. Hill, which was his loved Philadelphia home, to be unusually quiet, and disposed to withdraw from social intercourse, as if it wearied him. Walking from the Conference room, arm in arm with one of his former students, he spoke despondently of his health, and, being told that it was but a temporary depression, from which he would rally by rest, he answered, positively, "No, I am worn-out." Stopping, on his way across the continent, two days at Denver to see his eldest daughter, he said to her: "I am getting along in years, more and more feeble, and *I must see China before I die.*"

Of Benedict Goës, sent from India in 1603 to explore and bring report of China, his brethren to whom he, having met death at Suh-chow, returned not, said, "Benedict, seeking Cathay, found heaven." So say we, sorrowing, of our unreturning Bishop who went forth to far Cathay, but brings not back his report, having carried it instead to the General Assembly and Church of the First-born, and to God the Judge of all. The finish of his life, framed of many fitnesses and subtle harmonies, is a poem of God's providence. The closing incidents group themselves as if in studied tableau. Superlatively fit it was that he should die where he did, and some One had calculated so exactly that there was just enough fuel in the furnace and steam in the boiler to run the train to the home-station. The "Divinity that shapes our ends" so timed movements and measured energies that life's hour-glass should run empty at Foochow. Was it prophetic intimation, or a sense

of the appropriate, or prompting of desire, that made him say to the North China Mission at Peking six weeks before his death, "If I can reach Foochow, and it be God's will, I can lay down my life and sleep quietly."

Be that as it may, his uttered thought comes to fulfillment. The weary traveler sails up the Min. His dim eyes look once more on its dear banks, and an eventful life-voyage drops final anchor where his Portuguese lorcha was moored three and thirty years before. He totters feebly ashore into the great heathen city, climbs the rocky southern hill to the missionary compound on its crest, finds the residence of Rev. N. J. Plumb, greets it with recognition, "Home! my old home!" for he lived on that lot thirty-two years before, enters with a thankful smile on his patient face to go no more out, lies down amid holiest associations and the scenes of his first great trials and toils near the earliest graves of his many-sorrowed life, and dies at four o'clock of a November afternoon on the very spot where he had seen the bride of his youth fall asleep in death at the same hour of a November day in 1853.

Dying far from surviving friends, he was yet not among strangers. China, which is a foreign land to us, was home to him. Gentle ministries tended his last days. The Woman's Foreign Missionary Society, for which he had made many eloquent and urgent pleas, gave the suffering Bishop one of its best physicians, Dr. Trask, to afford all possible medical relief in the painful journey from Peking to Shanghai, thence to Foochow, and there until the end came. Providence carried him half-way round the world to lay him down at the door of the one Conference to which his relation was most paternal. Never watched children by bedside of parent more reverently than the Foochow Conference waited by the couch of him whom they called "Our Bishop," and who was worthy of veneration. When he grew worse they adjourned to count his pulse-beats, and listen for what might be his last words; when he was better they went back to their work; when their session was finished they did not disperse, but waited for the issue of his illness to close his eyes, be mourners at his funeral, and bear to burial the body of the man who, having borne the Chinese on his heart for a life-time, now makes friendly dust of his bones with theirs in their own soil. The Foochow Confer-

ence conducted his funeral. The service in Tieng Ang Tong, "Church of Heavenly Rest," was in Chinese and English. Rev. Dr. C. C. Baldwin and Rev. Charles Hartwell, of the American Board, colleagues of his early missionary labors, spoke. When they were looking their last upon his face the voice of the missionary office in New York was heard saying, by Dr. Reid's telegram, "Do all that is necessary." Hundreds of Chinese shed tears together, and put on white mourning robes to follow in procession. Native preachers, whom he had ordained seven years before, with their own hands lined his coffin and made a pillow, of which they said, "The lining will be very near him, and on our pillow his dear head will rest." The same hands bore the body to burial on bamboo poles in a rough coffin made by a Chinese carpenter.

If new beatitudes were to be pronounced, might it not be said, Blessed is that servant of the Lord Jesus who has given manhood's morning and life's last expiring energies to the redemption of China? Is there any mission field where results are more firm and permanent? The divine power of the Gospel is seen in its making headway in two nations so entirely different as China and India; but constitutional differences might be expected to be perceptible in the results of work in the two countries. Observe the Chinaman, with his short neck, shrewd, oblique eye, and practical look. Dr. Wentworth says you could almost as easily deceive Satan as a Chinaman. He is the common-sense man of affairs, thrifty, sober, unideal, matter-of-fact, astute, careful in his accounts. Americans and Englishmen sometimes call him, with fine superciliousness, "a trader."

Look at the Hindu, with his slender figure, high, narrow forehead, deep, pensive eyes. He is dreamy, imaginative, metaphysical, speculative, more apt to live in the clouds than to take account of practical matters. The difficulty in China would naturally be to make any impression, to divert attention from earthly affairs to the concerns of a spiritual realm. Once really secure attention, and truth might be expected to take effect. In India, on the contrary, it must be comparatively easy to catch listeners for eternal themes, but the trouble would be to carry persuasion home through all the intricacies in which they involve the argument; and while the missionary might obtain ready hearing, he would experience difficulty in holding

the subtle, philosophizing, visionary mind to firm convictions and clear-cut doctrines, converts having a tendency to slip through the meshes of reasoning, or drift away in misty dreams from all firm hold on any thing.

But as for the Chinaman, only arrest his attention, penetrate his thick imperviousness, carry the citadel of his convictions with Christianity's phalanx of facts, induce him to test its claims, and you will have a stable, determined Christian, a man for hard work, steady service, executive management, and early self-direction. The proportion of apostates and backsliders in China ought to be small. Converts made in the twenty-two Chinese missions of New York and Brooklyn are reported to "stick." The Chinese are of the stuff to make stubbornly heroic Christians—many successors in holy obstinacy to Ling Ching Ting—as many martyrs as may be necessary for the victory of the faith in the Celestial Empire. Gordon's admiration for the sturdy qualities of the Chinese comes out in his Khartoum journals. He longs for Chinese soldiers in the Soudan, and would like to see India garrisoned with them. The trial of faith in China was severe, but after the Gospel had proved its power by actual and stable results, is there any place where laborers more distinctly receive the assurance, "Your labor is not in vain?"

Happy Bishop Wiley! to have bestowed his earliest, longest, last, and most loving labor on a field where increasing results are so sure, solid, and abiding.

His pioneer work contributed to introduce the leaven of Bible truth into a compact nation of from three to four hundred millions, all using the same written language. He stands inseparably identified with the brightest hope of a venerable, rich, sagacious, and powerful empire having an area equal to the whole of Europe, the oldest nation in existence, and likely, despite Russian ambitions in Central Asia, to maintain its colossal integrity for an untold future; an empire not to be dismembered or subjugated by foreign powers, in which respect the lax, disbanded, unthrifty millions of India—a medley of twenty-eight diverse races and thirty-five nations, with half a hundred languages—bear no comparison with the organized, industrious, energetic, unified population of China.

If one would labor and die where he will never be forgotten,

could he find a better place than China? It is the land of records. Its archives hold the systematic history of three thousand years. Its chronology records the founding of the Chow dynasty a hundred years before David was king of Israel, and of the Hia dynasty a thousand years before the rise of the Assyrian Empire. China will keep her Christian annals as scrupulously as her pagan. No one doubts that a millennium hence Shee-Hoang-te, the national hero who built the Great Wall two centuries before Christ, will be as well remembered as to-day. In China it is possible that a thousand years hence a Christian city on the banks of the Min may point, with native reverence for forefathers still, to the secluded valley in which is our Bishop's grave, and speak of Hwaila Kangtok as one of the fathers of the Church, one of the chief ancestors of Christianity in China.

Most blessed servant of the Most High! that God should make his grave in the land of long memories.

Our Church has buried three of its Bishops in Asiatic soil or seas, and that continent is thus, with other equally honored graves, dedicated throughout all its coasts, in the name of Methodism, to the true God. When, under the equator, the body of our first Bishop, weighted with four cannon-balls, was shot to the bottom of the Indian Ocean from the starboard gangway of the *Cabalva* on the 3d of May, 1814, the sea that washes India was made sacred to the thought of the Church. When stout Kingsley lay down suddenly one April morning in 1870 at the foot of Lebanon, and his body was laid in Syrian soil in the suburbs of Beirut, among the figs and pomegranates of the cemetery on the Damascus road, the history-crowded Mediterranean was consecrated afresh as by Paul's journeyings in the ancient days. And now, when Wiley's weary frame is laid to rest among the olives, pines, longans, and purple guavas in the mission cemetery at Foochow, the Pacific coasts of Asia are hallowed until the heavens be no more and the dust be raised out of its sleep. The Church, standing by his grave, hears overhead a

> "Sentinel
> Who moves about from place to place,
> And whispers to the worlds of space,
> In the deep night, that all is well."

Art. II.—THE REVISED OLD TESTAMENT.

The history of English Bible Revision is a very long one, and has been so often told that we need here glance only at the principal stages.* The version now in common use is not only in a very large degree a revision of the previously existing ones—the impress and much of the phraseology even of Wiclif's being still clearly traceable in it—but has itself undergone gradually and silently so many changes, especially in spelling and punctuation, that the original edition of 1611 reads, as well as looks, very different from a Bible of the present day. It is a fact not so generally known that American Bibles differ from those printed in Great Britain in thousands of places, chiefly in the modernization of orthography and grammar. The meaning expressed, however, has remained the same, except so far as a change of punctuation has in a few cases modified it.

The agitation for a real revision has been growing more and more earnest during the present century, as preachers and commentators have found themselves compelled to criticise and correct the translation of numerous texts. Many individuals have published revised Bibles, both in this country and in England, and the American Bible Union, formed under the auspices of one wing of the Baptist denomination, has been engaged since 1837 in the issue of a Revised English Bible in successive portions. In Great Britain these movements culminated, in 1870, in the appointment of a committee by the Convocation of Canterbury, which has at length produced the present completed work.

It is proper to say that the Convocation just referred to is simply an association of the higher clergy of that archdiocese, who assemble twice a year, nominally by order of the Crown, but in reality voluntarily, to discuss matters of internal economy and ecclesiastical discipline. It is a remnant of the old

* A general account is given in the Prefaces to the Old and New Testaments, in the Revised Version itself. Additional particulars may be found in the "Historical Account" prepared by a sub-committee of the American Committee, and published by the Messrs. Scribner. (N. Y., 1885, 8vo.) A "Documentary History," prepared by Dr. Schaff, was printed for the exclusive use of members of the Revision.

system of provincial councils, but is destitute of any legislative status or binding authority. All its action is merely recommendatory, and its discussions purely opinionative. The body has not committed itself to the New Version, but has simply passed resolutions accepting, but not adopting it, as a report from its own committee, and thanking them for their labor. It thus practically "lies upon the table," to be disposed of, if at all, after future deliberation and discussion.

The general character of the Revision was defined by the rules laid down for the committee who performed the work, which explicitly precluded it from being a new translation, and required the retention of the old style of language. Denominational and controversial points were excluded by the composition of the committee itself. A large degree of unanimity was secured by the requirement of a two-thirds majority for any change from the "Authorized Version," and the whole air of the appointment was evidently that of conservatism.

The working-committee at first named were naturally all members of the Established Church of England, but they were empowered to add to their number scholars from other denominations and other parts of the world. It was under this last clause that an American Committee was soon organized, whose functions were subordinate to rather than co-ordinate with those of the British Revisers. The latter retained the sole power of finally deciding what the text should be, and merely invited the suggestions of the Americans. The committee on this side of the Atlantic was composed, as is well known, of scholars from the principal denominations (including one Friend and one Unitarian), who were conveniently located for the purpose of meeting. Their names were gathered by consultation with the acknowledged leaders in the several Churches, and vacancies were filled by unanimous election on the part of the remaining members. That Methodism had only two representatives in the American Committee was the fault solely of others who declined to serve.

The Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, who already had control over the publication of the Authorized Version, conjointly became likewise the publishers of the Revised Version; and in consideration of holding the copyright they consented to pay all the necessary costs of the undertaking,

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including the preliminary printing and the traveling expenses, etc., of the British members, but no personal remuneration for their time and services. The American Committee accorded to them the entire field of publication for fourteen years, and paid their own necessary expenses by contributions solicited from their friends and the public at large. The labors of both committees were thus rendered gratuitously, and there is no copyright upon the book in this country.

The process of the work was as follows, which we give at length, presuming that it will be generally interesting. Each Committee was divided into two sections, called Companies, one on the Old Testament, and the other on the New; having exclusive charge of changes relating to those portions of the Bible severally. In each of the Companies every thing was discussed and decided in open meeting as a "committee of the whole." Subcommittees were appointed to examine and report upon special points, but they had no power to determine any thing. In the American Committee there were general or joint meetings very frequently for settling business matters, and a few questions of common interest. Each of the British Companies held a monthly meeting for about four days in the famous Jerusalem Chamber of Westminster Abbey (the same room where the Authorized Version was originally prepared), and each of the American Companies a monthly meeting of two or three days in rooms in the Bible House at New York, which were rented and fitted up for that purpose. In each Company the chairman read aloud from the Authorized Version, one verse at a time of the portion assigned for consideration, and called for any changes to be proposed in the rendering. These were discussed at full length by all the members present, and when all had done, a vote was taken upon the change proposed to determine whether it should prevail. In the first reading this was simply a majority vote; but in all the later ones, a two-thirds vote of those present was necessary in order to carry any thing against the Authorized. In this way the British Committee went over the entire text, and transmitted to the corresponding Company of the American Committee the result in a printed form, called "The First British Revision," in portions from time to time as it was completed. These copies, as indeed all the mutual

transactions of the British and American revisers, were "strictly confidential," and it was agreed not to divulge the details to the public until the time of final publication. The American Committee then went over the same ground in precisely the same manner, and transmitted the result to the corresponding British Company; agreeing with or differing from the latter in the changes, or proposing new ones, sometimes giving the reasons when not obvious or easily discoverable. The British Revisers then went over the entire work in detail again, taking into the account the American suggestions, as well as any other fresh ones, then deciding by a two-thirds vote upon each. This new text, constituting "The Second British Revision," was then in like manner transmitted to the American Revisers, who again went over the whole in the same careful way, and sent back a second series of results, arrived at by a similar two-thirds vote. A third time the British Revisers went over the ground, comparing our suggestions, and adopting such as they saw fit, with any others of their own: and the printed result is the text of the present published "Revised Version." They sent meanwhile a list of these final variations to the American Revisers, who returned a series of exceptions as their ultimate opinion on what they deemed important points; and this is printed as the "Appendix" to the work. From a careful comparison of these successive revisions it appears that a very large proportion of the American suggestions, amounting probably to four fifths of them, were adopted, either in form or in substance, by the British Companies. In most of the important changes there was entire agreement, and in not a few the Americans were fully as conservative as the British, if not more so. On two occasions, when in consequence of the non-arrival of copies of the First British Revision in time the American Companies had proceeded independently (Job and Romans), their work was found to be singularly coincident with that of their brethren on the other side.

The final results thus arrived at are, of course, oftentimes a compromise. No one of the Revisers individually is perfectly satisfied with all of them. Each had to surrender many of his proclivities and personal conceits, because they were voted down. Nevertheless, he still thinks he was right, and probably he sometimes was; for wisdom does not always dwell

with present majorities. But the question always present and uppermost in the decision was not, What does this one or that one think? but, What is likely to commend itself to the mass of intelligent judges? Many a time the conclusion reached was not altogether satisfactory to any of the Revisers themselves, but it seemed the best that could be done under the circumstances. A great many things had to be considered, and no form of language that could be devised exactly met all the requirements. For example, "firmament" is not altogether a desirable rendering of the Hebrew *rakîa* in Gen. i, 6; for it suggests the idea of something solid and fixed, which the original does not contain. "Welkin," perhaps, would obviate that objection, but the word is now obsolete except in a few poetical phrases. The literal translation "expanse" cannot be used in good English for a concrete term, but requires some qualifying addition, as "of sea," "of land," etc., and moreover would be utterly unsuitable in such passages as Psa. xix, 1. Think of reading, "The heavens declare the glory of God, and *the expanse* showeth his handiwork!" The expanse of what? every one would ask, if he did not laugh outright at the incongruity. So "firmament" has to stand for the want of a better word. And so in innumerable other cases, after discussing and revolving every conceivable alternative for hours, the best wisdom was shown at last by doing nothing at all, and no record remains to show that any change whatever was proposed or considered. If any reader's favorite expedient was not adopted, he may be pretty sure it was not because it was not thought of, and probably presented in all its strength, but because the majority did not approve it as a suitable one. If there were no one to advocate it in the committee, there were abundant communications from without urging all manner of preposterous changes. Professed commentaries are full enough of such, even some written by learned and otherwise sensible men, to say nothing of public criticisms and private communications. The main object and the great advantage of concerted judgment by a number of persons looking at a subject from different points of view is, that it tends to eliminate narrow prepossessions and partial opinions. Many literary questions, unfortunately, have to be settled for the unskilled by authority, but this basis should be as broad as possible, and twenty scholars

are less likely to make mistakes than one. There have been, as we have already said, many improved versions by individuals, but they necessarily lack the prestige and weight of this co-operative one.

In developing more in detail the merits of this revision, the writer proposes to lay out of consideration, as far as possible, the fact that it was his fortune to have a hand in its production. He is not thereby entitled to assume the position of an advocate, nor debarred from the right of criticism. From an inside point of view he is better prepared to see the difficulties of the work, and to appreciate the endeavors to overcome them; but he is at the same time made aware of the degree to which it has sometimes been compelled to fall short, like all human efforts, of the desideratum. This much at least he has learned, that it needs no apologist, and that no rash hand can safely attack it. The result of fifteen years' earnest labor by some half-hundred of the best equipped experts of Great Britain and America cannot be in vain, and will neither decay by the neglect of the ignorant nor be demolished by the violence of the learned. It will survive the prejudices of both classes, and if found by the dispassionate reader to be an aid in reaching the sense of Scripture, it will gradually win its way to a place in his esteem and use. Thus much is already certain, that no well-informed student can afford to ignore it. The only rational mode of determining its value and availability is for each person to examine it for himself. Meanwhile our readers will probably be pleased with some general hints on the subject, followed by such details of comparison as our space may afford. We will confine our attention chiefly to the Old Testament, as the New has already been noticed in this journal.

The first point in any translation of an ancient writing is, to use as correct a copy of the original text as can be procured. The search for this, in the case of the Old Testament, is very short, for, practically, there is no trustworthy or current text known that is not substantially the Masoretic; that is, to all intents and purposes identical with that of the usually printed Hebrew Bibles. No manuscripts that vary in any great degree, so far at least as perceptibly to affect the meaning for a translation, have hitherto been discovered, and it is probable that none such exist. To employ the oldest versions, such as the Septuagint,

the Vulgate, the Samaritan, in place of this, would be critically preposterous; and to resort to conjectural emendation would be hazardous in the extreme.* The Revisers were in fact shut up to the Masoretic text, with occasional references in the margin to such variations as that text itself furnishes, or as are supplied by other ancient authorities. The *vowel-points and accents* of that text have not been regarded as strictly binding, and all commentators feel at liberty occasionally to depart from them, when good reasons seem to require it; but sound and judicious scholars will do this very cautiously and as rarely as possible. The day for arbitrarily altering the text after the fashion of Lowth has gone by; and the materials are not extant for an elaborate critical apparatus that will justify any considerable deviation from the *textus receptus* of the Old Testament. The labors of Kennicott and De Rossi have settled this so far as the manuscripts known in their time are concerned, and those of Strack, Baer, and Delitzsch have confirmed it for all discovered since.† It is scarcely possible that the recently rumored "finds" will overturn this conclusion. At all events, it certainly is premature for the present to abandon or mutilate this old and well-established foundation on any such precarious pretext.

Another point touched upon in the Preface to the Revised Version of the Old Testament, but of less importance, is the necessity of transliterating instead of translating some of the technical or peculiar words of the Hebrew which have the force of proper names. The American Committee think it would have been well to do this uniformly with respect to the divine name Jehovah, as the British have done in many cases; and inasmuch as this is already a familiar word in English, occurring several times in the Authorized Version, there can be no reasonable objection to this course, for it is admitted on all hands that the rendering "Lord" does not convey the distinctive force of that name. The case is not so clear with regard to

* In a very few cases the Revisers have felt compelled to do something of this kind, when the text was manifestly corrupt, for example, "Saul was [thirty] years old" (1 Sam. xiii, 1); but they have left "forty years" in 2 Sam. xv, 7.

† On the detailed readings of the manuscripts in question, see an article by Rev. B. Pick, Ph.D., in the forthcoming second volume of Supplement to M'Clintock and Strong's Cyclopedia, s. v. "Manuscripts."

some other words, such as *Nephilim* for "giants" in Gen. vi, 4; *Asherah* for "grove" in the early historical books; *Sheol* for "hell" in certain places; for these strike the reader as outlandish, and convey no distinct meaning. This last especially has awakened much profane merriment; although it was but following the example of the New Testament Revision, whose introduction of *Hades* into the text attracted no special attention. There are many other Hebrew words for which no exact equivalent can be found in English, such as *goël* ("redeemer," "kinsman," etc.), *yabam* ("to marry" the brother's widow, etc.); but the Revisers have refrained from transferring these. The same may be said of numerous technical terms and objects in natural history, the real meaning of which can only be conjectured, especially animals, plants, and gems; in all these they have done the best toward identification that the present state of science allows: among the most difficult, they have put "wild ox" for "unicorn," "the caper-berry" for "desire" (Eccles. xii, 5), "basilisk" for "cockatrice;" while "dragon" and "satyr" have been allowed to stand as translations, and "bdellium," "behemoth," and "leviathan" as transliterations. They have done wisely in introducing some well-known Oriental terms, as "caravan" (Job vi, 18, 19, etc.), "palanquin" (Cant. iii, 9); and we could wish that "mirage" were sufficiently English to allow its use for the Hebrew *sharab* (R. V., "glowing sand," in place of A. V., "parched ground," Isa. xxxv, 7; but left "heat" in xlix, 10). Readers of all classes will thank them for the attempt to reduce the Hebrew proper names to uniformity, for in many cases the persons or places referred to are undistinguishable in the common version; yet they have not pushed this to the verge of pedantry, nor disturbed the more familiar forms. A still larger degree of concurrence in this regard between the Old and the New Testament Companies would, perhaps, have been possible. In the titles to the Psalms an effort has been put forth to render the musical notations more intelligible by the renderings, "For the Chief Musician," "set to" this or that form of words; "on stringed instruments" (instead of "Neginoth"), etc.; but the unmeaning "Shiggaion," "Nehiloth," "Maschil," etc., have been retained, while "Selah" has been removed to the end of the line and bracketed.

In this connection we may conveniently notice the mode of treating archaisms that has been pursued in the Revision. While it was no part of the work to produce a modern translation, nor to eliminate those antique forms which are still intelligible and serve to give a venerable air to the version, yet it was clearly intended to displace those old words and phrases which have now changed or lost their meaning; and this, in substance, has been done, for example, in the case of "prevent" (in the sense of *precede*), "let" (that is, *hinder*), "ear" (*to plow*), "all to" (Judg. ix, 53, that is, *altogether*), etc.; but in some minor points the American Companies dissent from their British brethren (see "Classes of Passages" in the Appendix). These chiefly relate to matters of spelling or grammatical form, some of which have long since been adopted in most American reprints of the Bible; but others of considerable importance affect the clearness and ready apprehension of the sense, and a few relate to euphemisms, which it is a marvel that the British Companies did not accept. In some instances the latter have actually introduced fresh archaisms, and in one notable case, "judgement" for "judgment," it seems to be wholly arbitrary and gratuitous. The literary world, on this side of the Atlantic at least, will certainly regret the British obstinacy in most of these peculiarities. It is not wise to disfigure the sacred page unnecessarily, nor to lay causeless stumbling-blocks in the way of the common reader. It brings the Bible into discredit when its language is made dissonant with the rules of decency and orthography.

Of the obvious improvement in the typographical arrangement of the Revised Text, such as the paragraph form,* with the chapter and verse marks relegated to the margin, the parallelistic or hemistich lining of the poetical portions, and the omission of the unjustifiable and often misleading headings of chapters and pages, it is unnecessary to speak at length. We could wish that these editorial devices had been carried a little further, such as the indication of larger sections and subdivisions of the books, and in the case of Canticles, especially, the mention of the various interlocutors; but the latter would perhaps have savored too much of interpretation. The

* The subdivisions of the Masoretic lessons, however, have not been followed, as these seem to be largely fanciful.

extreme care taken in the accurate printing of the book deserves high commendation. Had there been as close oversight in getting out the edition of 1611, we probably would not have been perpetually reading, "strain *at* a gnat" for "strain out;" not to mention numerous more evident misprints which were speedily corrected.

Before entering upon the examination of particular changes, by which alone the real merit of the Revision can be fairly tested, we may make a preliminary remark. Many of the uninitiated probably wonder why there is such difficulty in translating a book written in a language so well known as the Hebrew, and how such very different renderings can be made from it. In order to elucidate this matter, as well as to afford a just apprehension of the comparative merits of the Authorized and the Revised Versions, let us take one of the shorter Psalms, the tenth, for example, which is well adapted to illustrate the whole subject. In plain historical passages, of course, there is comparatively little possibility of various renderings, but in the poetical books, to which most of the prophetical also properly belong, there is a highly figurative and elliptical style, which often renders the meaning doubtful, especially when words of rare occurrence are used; and even in prose the Oriental imagination frequently indulges in a similar vein of thought and expression. The first clause of verse 2 of the Psalm we have selected reads thus in the Authorized Version: "The wicked in his pride doth persecute the poor;" in the Revised, thus: "In the pride of the wicked the poor is hotly pursued." The Hebrew literally runs thus, if we supply [in brackets] the words grammatically necessary in English, but only implied in the original: "In [the] pride of [a] wicked [man] will kindle [a] poor [man];" and it is uncertain whether the word here translated "kindle" is transitive or intransitive, and therefore whether the meaning is, "He [the wicked man] will burn the poor," or, "The poor man will burn up." On the whole, the latter seems more conformable to the use of the word elsewhere, and therefore we prefer the Revised. It will be observed, however, that the general sense of the passage is about the same in either case. In the latter clause of verse 3, the Authorized has, "And blesseth the covetous, whom the Lord abhorreth;" the Revised, "And the covetous

renounceth, yea, contemneth the Lord;" literally it would be thus: "And plundering [or (*A*) *plunderer*] has blessed, has despised Jehovah." But here again it is uncertain which noun is the subject, and which the object, of the two verbs, so that we might render, "Has blessed (the) plunderer," and "Jehovah has despised." Moreover, by an idiom almost peculiar to the Hebrew, the word "bless" is euphemistically used for "curse" with reference to God, as in the advice of Job's wife to the afflicted saint, "Curse [literally, *bless*] God and die;" and in the indictment of Jezebel against Naboth (1 Kings xxi, 10, 13), "Blaspheme [literally, *bless*] God and the king." Here again the Revised is much better. In the former half of verse 4 the Authorized renders: "The wicked, through the pride of his countenance, will not seek after God;" and the Revised gives the latter clause thus: "Saith, He will not require it," where the original literally says only, "will not at all follow." But this last verb is so often used of "seeking God," that is, *worshiping*, that at least it seems to be here used elliptically in that sense, without the addition of the divine name. The Authorized Version is therefore in this case to be preferred, notwithstanding the apparent parallelism with verse 13. In the first part of verse 5 the Authorized has, "His ways are always grievous," and the Revised, "His ways are firm at all times;" the original is, "Will twist his way [various reading, *ways*] in all time." The verb sometimes means *to be firm*, as of a twisted rope, but may better be interpreted of the *tortuous* paths of sinners, which the Authorized Version implies, but does not clearly express. In verse 8 the Revised substitutes "helpless" for "poor" of the Authorized, as a different word is rendered by the latter in the context; but the "hapless" of the margin would have been still better. In verse 14, Authorized, "Thou hast seen it; for thou beholdest mischief and spite, to requite it with thy hand;" Revised, in the last clause, "to take it into thy hand;" literally, "to give with [or *in*] thy hand." This last phrase is often used in the sense of *putting into one's power* ("gave it into the hand of" so and so), but always of another, and never of one's self, as indeed the word "give" necessarily implies. The Authorized Version is therefore much preferable, and, indeed, the Revised is destitute of any obvious signifi-

cance. Still better would have been, "to requite [is] in thy hand," that is, retribution belongs to God. In verse 18, Authorized, "That the man of the earth may no more oppress;" Revised, "That man which is of the earth may be terrible no more;" literally, "Not at all will [or *may*] add again to terrify [a] man from the earth," probably meaning, "so that he [the oppressor] shall never again terrify man out of the land." Even in the prosaic books, however, poetical passages frequently occur which are equally difficult to render. A notable example is Deut. xxxiii, 6, where the Authorized Version has adopted the extraordinary expedient of inserting a negative: "Let Reuben live and not die, and let *not* his men be few." The Revised Version renders the last clause, "Yet let his men be few," thus giving a precisely opposite sense. The original is simply, "Let his folks be a number," that is, not an indefinite multitude, as most of the other tribes were, yet not a mere handful. The true thought is not exactly hit by either the old or the new rendering; for while on the one hand the Reubenites were not to be innumerable, yet their limitation is not expressed as a curse, but only as a complement (rather than contrast) to the foregoing blessing; as if it were said, "Let him survive, and his posterity even become a *considerable* number." A similar qualification is denoted by the other passages (Num. ix, 20; 1 Chron. xvi, 19; Job xvi, 22; Isa. x, 19; Ezek. xii, 16) where the same word (*mispar*, of very frequent use, and often denoting a large number) is translated "few;" and in all of them the character and extent of the limitation is to be gathered entirely from the context. In like manner we often say in English, "A number of persons," meaning less than "many persons," and yet more than "a few persons."

Of course we cannot, within our limits and with due regard to our readers' patience, go over the whole volume with this sort of minute review. All that we can hope to accomplish in the way of special criticism will be to examine some of the great texts of leading interest and familiar use, which nevertheless present serious difficulties, and see how the Revision has treated them.*

* It is but just to state that no passages have been selected in which the writer had a personal interest before the committee. Had we done this, our bill of exceptions might have been materially lengthened.

the book of Genesis, the most trying class of passages perhaps for the translator's skill are those frequent ones that contain a play upon words more or less patent. These cases of *paronomasia*, of course, like a pun, are often incapable of being transferred into another idiom, especially when they turn upon a single word; but when they consist of a phrase they generally may be approximately represented in English. Something of the sort occurs in the words of Eve at the birth of Cain (Gen. iv, 1), "I have gotten a man from the Lord," where the Revised Version renders, very judiciously in our opinion, "with *the help of* the Lord," using Italics as here. In verse 7 the figure of temptation, like a wild beast ready to seize the fratricide, is finely brought out by the rendering "coucheth" instead of "lieth;" but this is immediately obscured, if not wholly lost, by retaining "his desire" and "rule over him," instead of *its* and *it*, as in the margin. In verse 13 "My punishment is greater than I can bear" is retained in preference to the more literal, and, as it seems to us, the far more appropriate, rendering of the margin, "My iniquity is greater than can be forgiven." In verse 15 "appointed a sign for Cain" is clearly better than the old "set a mark upon Cain," which has caused such bootless surmises. In that difficult passage (vi, 3) the old rendering is retained with only a slight change, for which the reader is puzzled to see any special reason, "My Spirit shall not strive with man for ever," etc., and the well known alternatives are put in the margin. In x, 11, "went forth Asshur" is changed, in accordance with modern ethnography, to "he went forth into Assyria." In xv, 2, "the steward of my house is this Eliezer of Damascus" is changed to "he that shall be possessor of my house is Dammesek Eliezer;" whether a clear sense or not we leave others to judge. In xvi, 13, occurs a notable *paronomasia*, "Thou God seest me: for she said, Have I also here looked after him that seeth me?" This becomes, "Thou art a God that seeth: for she said, Have I even here looked," etc. The Hebrew says, literally, "Thou [art] a God of seeing [or, God my Seer]: for she said, Have I also [or, even] here seen after seeing [or, my Seer]." The thought uppermost in Hagar's mind evidently was, that, according to the popular superstition, she had expected to die after seeing God, and was therefore surprised at

surviving. We cannot see how this idea could be gathered from either the Authorized Version or the Revised Version. In xxii, 14, "provided" for "seen" is clearly required by the use of the same term in ver. 8. In xxiii, 15, Ephron's chaffering spirit is finely brought out by the rendering, which is also more literal, "A piece of land worth four hundred shekels of silver, what is that betwixt me and thee?" The allusion in the name *Gad* (xxx, 11) is obscure, but we prefer the old sense of "troop" to "fortune," as there is no trace of the latter (unless in the versions) at that early date, and the parallel passage (xlix, 19) clearly favors the former etymology. In xxxi, 21, a bit of interpretation is indulged in by the use of a capital letter, "the River," with a marginal note explaining it of the Euphrates. In the account of the famous wrestling of Jacob (xxxii, 28) we doubt whether the sense of "hast striven" instead of "hast power" (the omission of "as a prince" may be justified) is well established, and in the parallel passage (Hos. xii, 3, 4) the Revisers themselves have not made the change. In verse 32 "of the hip" for "that shrank" is in accordance with modern interpreters. A number of improvements are visible in Jacob's dying ode (xlix).

The remaining books of the Pentateuch do not afford an opportunity for so many striking changes; yet throughout even these the careful reader will note numerous small alterations which greatly tend to clear up the meaning. The same may be said in an increasing degree of the other historical books, Judges to Esther, in which the force of idiomatic expressions is often very much heightened. For example, in 2 Kings viii, 13, "And Hazael said, But what, is thy servant a dog, that he should do this great thing?" the middle clause now reads, "what is thy servant, which is but a dog" (literally, "what [is] thy servant, the dog"). In other cases, as in the splendid ode of Deborah (Judg. v), while considerable improvement is manifest, for example, "For that the leaders took the lead" (verse 2), "tell of it" (verse 10), "then came down a remnant of the nobles" (verse 13), "march on with strength" (verse 21), yet "against the mighty" (verses 13, 23) is retained, where better sense is yielded by the margin, "among the mighty."

It is in the vivid and sententious phraseology of the poetical

books, especially Job, the Psalms, Proverbs, and, to a considerable degree, the Prophets, that the amplest scope and the most imperative necessity exists for revising the old version. Its authors, although good Hebrew scholars, were not so well posted as are moderns in the niceties of philology and archæology, and they frequently missed or neglected the exact shade of meaning upon which a figure or allusion turns. Most or all the well-known mistakes of this kind have been corrected by the present Revisers, and we need not take time to enumerate them. Notable examples are Psa. xix, 3, where the Authorized Version has completely reversed the thought by inserting "where;" xxxii, 9, where the same thing has been done by rendering "lest they come near" instead of "else they will not come near." We can only stop to direct attention to a few of the most beautiful and forcible passages which have become almost household words. The magnificent spirit-picture of Eliphaz (Job iv) is improved by rendering "Is not thy fear of God thy confidence, and thy hope the integrity of thy ways?" (ver. 6) alluding to Job's self-righteousness; "is not their tent-cord plucked up within them?" (ver. 21) a figure of sudden and utter ruin; but we doubt the possibility of the rendering "betwixt morning and evening" (ver. 20); and we think the first tense requires us to render ver. 2, "Has one assayed, . . . that thou shouldst be grieved?" referring to the silence hitherto of the three friends, and reproving Job for unprovoked complaint. In xv, 11, the rendering, "Are the consolations of God too small for thee, and the word that dealeth gently with thee?" is certainly clearer than the old version, "small with thee? is there any secret thing with thee?" But all readers will naturally turn to the famous passage in xix, 25–27, to see how it has fared, and we may, therefore, be excused in considering it somewhat at length. The only changes of importance which the Revisers have made are in ver. 26, which they render, "And after my skin hath been thus destroyed, yet from my flesh shall I see God." Every sensible scholar must be glad that the "worms" have been eliminated, and the rendering "in my flesh" corrected. The Revisers have doubtless intended to give both clauses the construction which scholars are now pretty well agreed upon, and they seem to have purposely imitated the ambiguity of the original in the phrase "from my

flesh." We have ourselves, however, no idea that the passage is at all applicable to the doctrine of the resurrection of the body, but believe that it speaks only, though strongly, of survivorship of the spirit. The Revisers have evidently hesitated to take this ground, and therefore have left the passage in such a state as to admit of the conventional reference. Notwithstanding the ingenious arguments of our late friend Dr. Burr, in his comments on the passage, which we think are philologically and exegetically untenable, we would give a very different and more literal rendering to it. We especially see no authority for translating *dust* (*aphar*, verse 25) by "earth," *have seen* (*raû*, verse 27) by "shall behold,"* or *stranger* (*zar*) by "another." Of course we would render "without my flesh." In verse 28 the old phrase, so familiar as a cant expression, "the root of the matter" (whatever that might legitimately mean), is retained. We would prefer "a ground of accusation," as conveying some pertinent and distinct notion (the original has simply "root of word"). We think that readers generally will acquiesce with great satisfaction in the new rendering of xxxi, 35, "Oh that I had one to hear me! (Lo, here is my signature, let the Almighty answer me;) And that I had the indictment which mine adversary hath written!" which takes away the basis of the old saw about one's "adversary writing a book."

We call special attention to some of the happier renderings in the Psalms: ii, 12, "For his wrath will soon be kindled;" iv, 1, "Thou hast set me at large;" v, 3, "and will keep watch;" vii, 6, "thou hast commanded judgment;" 7, "And over them return thou on high;" 10, "My shield is with God;" 13, "He maketh his arrows fiery shafts;" viii, 5, "but little lower than God;" ix, 6, "The enemy are come to an end, they are desolate for ever; And the cities which thou hast overthrown, Their very memorial is perished;" x, 4, "All his thoughts are, There is no God;" xvi, 2, "I have no good beyond thee;" xvii, 13, 14, "Deliver my soul from the wicked by thy sword; From men, by thy hand, O Lord;" xviii, 37, 38, "I will pursue," etc.; xxiv, 6, "That seek thy face, O God of Jacob;" xxix, 9, "saith, Glory;" 10, "The Lord sat as king at the Flood;" xxxiii, 15, "He that

* The so-called *prophetic preter* (which we do not even believe this to be) is never actually translated as a future, not even in Isa. liii.

fashioneth the hearts of them all, That considereth all their works;" xxxiv, 17, "The righteous cried," etc.; xxxv, 8, "With destruction let him fall therein;" xxxvii, 3, "Dwell in the land, and follow after faithfulness;" 35, "like a green tree in its native soil;" xl, 9, "Lo, I will not refrain my lips;" xli, 3, "Thou makest," etc.; xlv, 8, "stringed instruments have made thee glad;" 13, "The king's daughter within the palace is all glorious;" xlix, 12, "But man abideth not in honor;" l, 8, "And thy burnt offerings are continually before me;" 16, "And that thou hast taken," etc.; lv, 15, "Let them go down alive into the pit;" 19, "and answer them, . . . The men who have no changes, And who fear not God;" lvi, 11, "What can man do unto me?" 13, "Hast thou not delivered," etc. These must suffice as specimens, and we leave each reader to continue the comparison for himself.

We could occupy the remainder of the paper in pointing out improvements made by the Revisers in the other poetical books, with here and there, perhaps, a defect. So in the prophetical books, which on the whole have certainly been rendered more transparent. They have done as well as they probably could with such superb and highly imaginative passages as Isa. xxi, xxii; but we think that after all but feeble justice has been rendered to its startling transitions. For example, we cannot see how xxi, 2, can be grammatically or consistently rendered "A grievous vision is declared unto me," against the gender of the verb and the subject, and the fact that a vision is *seen*, not *told* (the verb here always means to inform by word of mouth). To us it appears that both a spectacle and an oracle are here spoken of, and the following verse relates them, namely, the ravages of the enemy, and the divine permission for his attack. Nor do we see any good grammatical reason for the change of the tenses in verse 7 ("when he seeth . . . he shall hearken," where the Authorized Version, like the Hebrew, has the past), which appears to us to spoil the scene altogether. Still there are many minor improvements, for example, verse 8, "as a lion," for "A lion;" verse 9, "horsemen in pairs," for "with a couple of horsemen" (we think "horses in pairs" would have been still better). But in verse 12 we prefer the old "return" to "turn," as signifying that there might be intelligence shortly. In xxii, 2, "joyous" is left, although

"noisy" would seem to be the more appropriate rendering. In verse 3 we greatly prefer the marginal renderings, "without the bow," and "which had fled from far;" for the description seems to be that of the inhabitants of the suburbs huddled into the city during the invasion. But the whole passage is very difficult of interpretation, and but little of that work could be expected of the Revisers. We must not fail to note the fact, which many critics doubtless will find fault with, and many of the unlearned triumph over, that in the famous Messianic prediction, Isa. vii, 14, "*a* virgin shall conceive" remains, notwithstanding the presence of the definite article in the Hebrew ("*the* virgin"). To us it does not appear to make the least difference in the ultimate interpretation, although it may have some bearing upon the more immediate reference. The great exegetical knot in lxiv, 5, is cut after the fashion of many recent commentators, by the arbitrary rendering as a question, "Shall we be saved?"

In the Minor Prophets, many passages of which are highly idiomatic, numerous judicious alterations have been made, most of which, however, would not arrest the attention of the cursory reader. We notice a few of the most striking ones, putting the changes in Italics: Hos. viii, 3, "They shall cry unto me, My God, *we Israel* know thee;" verse 5, "*He hath* cast off thy calf, O Samaria;" verse 10, "and they *begin to be diminished* by reason of the burden," etc.; verse 12, "Though I write for him my law *in ten thousand precepts;*" Amos vi, 1, "Woe to them that are at ease in Zion, and to them that *are secure* in the mountain of Samaria, *the notable men* of the chief of the nations, to whom the house of Israel *come!*" verse 5, "*that sing idle* songs;" verse 10, "*in the innermost parts* of the house;" Hab. iii, 2, "In the midst of the years make *it* known;" verse 4, "He had *rays* coming forth from his hand;" verse 5, "And *fiery bolts* went forth at his feet;" verse 6, "His goings were *as* of old;" verse 9, "The oaths to the tribes *were a sure word;*" verse 11, "At the light of thine arrows *as* they went;" verse 13, "*Laying bare* the foundation;" verse 14, "Thou didst *pierce* with his *own* staves the head of his *warriors;*" verse 16, "When *it* cometh up *against* the people *which invadeth him in* troops." In these books, as in all the preceding, of course we can give only specimens, but they will

prove, we trust, sufficiently definite and characteristic to afford a just idea of the work in general.

It remains to sum up the results of the revision, and forecast in some measure its probable success. Many persons entertained extravagant expectations concerning it, and were correspondingly disappointed, especially on the appearance of the New Testament portion. They seem to have forgotten that no new translation, much less a commentary, was intended; and because every thing was not plain and obvious at sight, they abused or threw aside the New Version as useless. Some complain that too little has been done, and others find fault with it as being too much. Probably each party, while having some degree of truth on its side, is equally mistaken. While whole chapters, especially those most frequently read and therefore most cherished in memory, have often been left almost untouched, yet still in the aggregate many thousand alterations, more or less important, have been made. It is a most gratifying and instructive fact that all these put together have not in the slightest degree impaired or modified a single element of the Christian faith or affected one saving truth. With all this minute sifting every doctrine of the Bible remains intact, and no statement or principle contained in it has been to any considerable degree interfered with. No religious creed, no historical position, no scientific theory even, is either weakened or supported by the revised readings. This shows that the substantial meaning of the sacred text for all ordinary purposes is irrefragably fixed; and this verification alone, if the revision shall have no other effect, is of inestimable value. It will be in vain hereafter for any novice or crank to arise and dispute the established belief on any point by controverting the rendering and urging some novelty of his own in its stead. Scholars, and plain men too, will continue to examine the translation, and unfold or criticise its accuracy; but no wholesale or even large innovation can henceforth be proposed on the strength of individual opinion. We may safely predict that the New Version will be more and more appealed to in theological discussions as time goes on; and woe to the rash sciolist who ventures to contradict it. Its conclusions were not made in haste nor by solitary judgment; and they cannot be overthrown in that way. If they are finally to be set aside or

corrected, it must be by some corresponding degree of *consensus* and deliberation.

On the other hand, the question is often asked, Will the Revised supersede the Authorized Version? Personally we would be proud to hope that this might be the case, and that speedily; but, to speak candidly, we must say that, judging from present indications, especially the reception of the Revised New Testament, we do not think it likely. For the present generation at least it seems improbable; psychologically, we might say, it is almost impossible. How are the words of the old Bible, endeared by a thousand tender associations, to be erased from the memory? How obliterated from the language of more than two centuries of the most active period of the English literature? Any sudden change in the popular or public use of the Book is out of the question. It is said to have taken forty years for the version of King James, although on its title-page "appointed to be read in churches" (doubtless this was done by his express but verbal command, yet no formal decree has been found for its "authorization"), to displace the familiar Genevan version, which had been in circulation nothing like so long as this has now been. The Convocation of Canterbury itself has not even taken any action toward authorizing the public use of their own work, nor has the Convocation of York joined in its production. Nobody supposes that the Queen or Parliament would for one moment propose at this time to put it in the pulpits of the Established Church, and without some such authority no clergyman would dare to substitute it in the public lessons. Even if this were done, Dissenters would not be bound to adopt it. In this country there is no one authority competent to give it a general prestige. Nor, so far as now appears, does any ecclesiastical body, whether high or low, think of ordering its public use. In fact, we scarcely know of one individual church or prominent pastor that has permanently made the experiment. The thing evidently is not destined to come about in this way, if at all. Only when the well-considered and long-balanced voice of "public opinion" in ecclesiastical spheres has been fully and clearly pronounced, will either the British and Foreign Bible Society or the American Bible Society feel itself justified in legally changing its charter and altering its stereotype plates

so as to publish and circulate the Revised Version. At first, and for an indefinite time, it must go along-side of the old version, and win its way by the force of its own merits against the formidable rival.

The example of the movements made to revise the German and other Teutonic Bibles is admonitory on this point. They have been much longer in progress, and the committees in charge of them have as yet only published *tentative* versions, reserving the final decision still indefinitely. Yet they have introduced less numerous and important changes than the English Revisers. We cannot help thinking that if the latter had made only such alterations as were virtually adopted unanimously, and were of obvious interest, the work would have stood a much fairer chance of ultimate and even early acceptance. It must be confessed that many of the changes very slightly affect the meaning, and that the reason of still more of them is scarcely patent to the unlearned reader. As to the more important ones it is equally certain that in numerous cases the Revisers themselves differ from each other in opinion as to their correctness or advisability; and if they were not agreed, how could they expect outside scholars, to say nothing of other people, to accept them? Moreover they have put forth the work beyond their own control. The British Companies have entirely disbanded; and the American meet only once a year for a reunion. Neither expect to resume the work, or make any further changes. If this is to be done, it must be begun *de novo*. Surely there is no prospect of this during our day. Yet the very fact that such a proposition has been or can be already named is an admission that the present revision is not a finality. What hope is there that a new commission would be more competent, or that they would be willing to serve, or that their conclusions would be any better or more acceptable? That the work will some day be satisfactorily accomplished, whether by this or some modification of it, we confidently believe; but when, where, and by whom, it is impossible now to predict. When it shall be at last effected, we opine the intelligent Christian public will demand that the translation shall make the thought as plain to the common English reader as it is to the thorough Greek and Hebrew scholar. Men, women, and children want a Bible that they can read and at once

understand as they can a vernacular book without the help of commentaries, except for purposes of detailed elucidation and application. The task is confessedly a difficult one, much more difficult than the uninitiated have any conception of; but the necessity will create the invention, and this active age will not rest until the end is accomplished. Whether for *liturgical* use any thing more than a correction of the more palpable blemishes and errors of the present Authorized Version is called for, or would be useful, is quite another question. We really doubt if *for the pulpit* any degree of scholastic exactitude could make amends for a disturbance of its familiar rhythmical cadences. But for *private study*, clearness of meaning, definiteness of style, and unambiguity of language being essential, changes will be welcomed which would not be tolerated in public use. The only question asked will be, Does the proposed rendering convey the idea of the original more correctly, more fully, and more quickly than the old? An antique style is an impediment to ready apprehension, and a Hebraistic coloring a shadow over distinct comprehension; and no close version can adequately convey the meaning to minds so far away in time and region, language and customs, as are we from those who first penned or read the original. Students need something altogether more free, precise, and modern—something, in one word, more *Occidental* in its form of phraseology. Whether this sort of revision is compatible with the other, remains to be seen. Certain we are that no mere "doing into English" of the venerable volume, whether by slavish literalism or by pedantic paraphrase, will satisfy the demand. What the translator of any foreign and especially an ancient book needs to do is, first to grasp the thought clearly and accurately, and then express it plainly and simply in the idiom of his own day and people. That the original is ambiguous is no excuse for his being so, nor that it is very old any reason for his using archaisms. It was neither of these to those who wrote and read it vernacularly, and a translation ought to reproduce as nearly and fully as possible the same impression upon the mind of the reader as existed in theirs. He should ask, What did they mean by that sentence? and then say it directly and concisely in his own terms. Imitation of a foreign idiom is only allowable in cases of *paronomasia*, and even then it has very narrow limits.

One of the most shrewd and impressive observations that we have seen in relation to this whole subject is made by a member of the British Old Testament Company in reviewing the work of his colleagues of the New Testament Company:

> From the nature of the reception accorded to the Revised New Testament, two important facts may be considered as placed beyond all reasonable doubt: first, that public opinion has declared itself unmistakably in favor of revision—a question on which, before the inception of the work, learned men, including perhaps some of the revisers themselves, were not agreed; secondly, that the same public opinion which sanctions the undertaking, and does not question the competence of those who have been intrusted with it, reserves to itself the right of the freest discussion of the manner in which it has been executed.*

The criticisms which led to the undertaking, which have accompanied it, and also followed it, have forever broken the almost idolatry with which the Authorized Version was widely regarded, and shown that improvements are both desirable and possible; but the same earnest and honest spirit of inquiry will admit no Revised Version to its place unless it shall clearly establish its claim as having really effected those improvements, not only as a whole but in every essential particular. Whether the present work reaches this high standard is a decision to be rendered by no jury of professional experts, who may indeed furnish the evidence, but not speak the verdict; for the question is now submitted to the common sense of the great body of English-speaking Christians, for whom the book was prepared. Meanwhile, if the present revision shall have accomplished nothing more than to prepare the way for the successful competitor, by educating public opinion as to the necessity and proper method of executing the task, it will have done an immense service to religious literature. If it shall prove but a scaffolding to the final structure, those who have spent upon it so vast an amount of time and labor, which no money could have purchased, will not have occasion to regret their pains.

* *Otium Norvicense;* or, "Notes on Select Passages of the Greek Testament, chiefly with reference to Recent English Versions." By Rev. Frederick Field, LL.D., Honorary Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Oxford, 1881. P. iv.

Art. III.—MORAL TRAITS OF THE "YAMATO-DAMASHII" ("SPIRIT OF JAPAN").

BY A JAPANESE.

"Shika-shima no, Yamato kokoro wo
Hito towaba
Asahi ni niwō-o Yamazakura ka na."

Thus runs a national ode of my far-eastern country—Japan; roughly rendered into English, the lines read:

"Would'st know the heart of Yamato?
Its type is the Sakura blossom,
That scatters its odorous sweetness
Beneath the sun of the morning."

The poem itself is so simple as to be almost meaningless, for the "odorous sweetness" which it attributes to the "spirit of Yamato" is a certain negative purity—"want of any thing within," as the Japanese people term it, and in some cases it becomes mere emptiness of heart. We turn to its primitive religion, and how simple it is! "Whiteness and purity" form the essence of its teachings; its temple is built of unvarnished wood; its objects of worship are a clear mirror and white paper curiously folded; its sacrifices and ceremonies are as simple as they are ridiculous. Hindu religions, with their elaborate systems, have greatly modified this cult of an earlier age, yet enough remains of its ancient simplicity to show that the Japanese are a sincere, straight-forward people, as regards their native characteristics.

While there is no question that the "Yamato-damashii" has been too much lauded in some quarters, it is nevertheless true that in its simplicity and natural freedom from disagreeable traits it produces many noble and lovable characters. The Chinese have been represented as a people famous for trickery, and the Japanese people, as their neighbors, have shared in the same suspicions on the part of foreigners. True, avarice in commercial dealings has sadly degraded many of them, especially along the sea-borders; yet enough remain among them who, for the sake of that ancient "spirit" of which they are proud, would, to borrow their expression, rather "feed upon

the roots of mountain herbs than to rob their neighbors of a grain of rice for hunger's sake."

I would endeavor to show the Western reader how far the "Yamato-heart" is essentially Christian *in spirit*, and what advantages a Christian missionary may derive from it, in leading my countrymen to the purest and holiest of Saviours, whose sacred flowering, once for all, on the stem of humanity, has shed an "odorous sweetness" through the world.

Among the nobler manifestations of the primitive nature of the Japanese, three distinct traits may be termed characteristic, since in them exists "the promise and potency" of what is best in the life of the nation: 1. Filial piety; 2. Loyalty to higher authorities; 3. Love for inferiors.

"Filial love is the source of all virtue," reads the first lesson in the Book of Confucius; but it was the genius of Japan which intuitively received this doctrine as fundamental, not the philosopher's conquest over a nation, that renders Christianity, in some respects, difficult of acceptance. The greatest stumbling-block to a Japanese in accepting the religion of Christ is, that Scripture which declares that a man shall "leave his father and mother, and shall be joined unto his wife;" but while this is so, fortunately for the pagan, St. Paul has left us a partial, if not a complete, explanation of the passage in his Epistle to the Ephesians, and pronouncing it a "mystery" has applied it to the intimate relation of Christ to his Church.

To the Japanese no relation can be greater than the sacred relation of child to parent. Infidelity in this regard is, in Japan, synonymous with *immorality*. It is true that the saying of Confucius, referred to above, is frequently perverted by selfish parents when they wish to coerce their innocent children into wrong-doing, and it has often had a deleterious effect upon the latter in checking the free and vigorous growth of their minds; but the nation's history for the past twelve centuries would have been that of the Roman Empire had it not been for this one element of morality—filial love.

Parricide is a crime seldom recorded in Japanese history; and in the very few cases where it has occurred, so atrocious and unnatural does it seem in the eyes of the people that, whatever services the criminals may have rendered their country, even the mention of their names is avoided.

A vivid illustration of the living power exerted by the doctrine of filial duty on the heart of old Japan is found in the story of the Soga brothers, which is so popular among the masses that, to this day, when a theater fails, a dramatic representation of the Soga history always insures the return of good fortune. The story is "ever new and refreshing," say the people. The events alluded to occurred in the latter part of the eleventh century, when the real power of the empire was in the hands of a military general, or shōgun, whose name was Yoritomo. His popularity among the people soon raised him to a degree of prosperity which no ruler had ever enjoyed before him, and, as is usually the case when the power of a country is vested in one man, the new ruler's government assumed a despotic form, and his court soon became a scene of base flattery and corruption.

Among his subjects was one Soga, famous for his muscular strength, especially as a wrestler, and without a rival in the land. One day, however, he was challenged by a favorite of the great general, Kudo by name, and a day was appointed for the trial of their strength. The exhibition was of great interest to the whole country, and in that age of feudalism, when physical prowess was the basis of immortal fame, it was the occasion of deep anxiety to both the parties involved; but when the contest came to pass, to the disgust of his new opponent, Soga proved, as on former occasions, pre-eminent in strength. Angered, and full of bitter resentment at his defeat, Kudo determined to remove the victor from the sphere of his triumphs by a secret assassination, and an archer was sent out on the cruel mission. As Soga was journeying homeward through tortuous mountain ravines, a well-aimed arrow put an end to his life; but when the crime, done in darkness, at length came to light, the murderer so aptly pleaded his cause through some flattering courtiers that he received an open pardon from the shōgun.

The unfortunate children of an unhappy sire were condemned to a life of the greatest secrecy and obscurity in the home of their grandfather, screened from the observation of the envious Kudo; but as they grew older and learned their father's fate, the shadow of a grave responsibility fell upon their tender souls in the seclusion of that quiet home. From

filial affection was born the stern purpose of revenge, and, through trials and vicissitudes of all kinds, they toiled steadfastly toward the goal of their hopes.

Subtle and powerful temptations appealed to the hearts of these "heathen" of a bygone day; but they were deaf to the voice of the charmer, for their Master had said: "Bear not above you the same heaven with the slayer of sire or lord."

After eighteen years of trial, to use the phrase of the chronicler, "Heaven pitied the filial love of the orphans," and their enemy lay prostrate under their swords, while the whole country applauded their triumph; but, heedless of the honors awaiting them, they snapped their young lives asunder, on the very night of their long-sought vengeance, by plunging into the midst of their foes. Thus passed from earth two of the purest souls born to fulfill but *one duty*—a duty to which youth and ambition were willingly sacrificed.

Another striking instance of filial devotion occurred in the middle of the thirteenth century, during the reign of an enterprising emperor who sought to restore to the imperial throne its rightful authority by coping with the usurpations of the shōgun. In his band of conspirators was a brave man named Hino, of royal descent, fine culture, and noble spirit, who undertook a daring enterprise with but a slender force, only to find that his whole plan had been disclosed to the enemy by a traitorous comrade.

This loyal adherent of the emperor was captured and condemned by his delighted foes to a lonely exile on an island in the northern seas, leaving behind him at the capital his wife and a youthful son of thirteen. A manly heart beat in the breast of the seeming child, and, on learning that his father had been unjustly exiled, he at once resolved to seek the distant island which held the object of his filial love, and arouse the sympathy of the governor; or, failing in this, he hoped at least to bring comfort to the despairing exile. Had not his great Teacher written: "A filial son shall not live away from his parents?"

At that period of difficult travel it was no light task for a mere child to journey alone, amid various hardships by land and sea; but after fifteen weary days the faithful son found himself, to his great joy, on the desolate island where his father

languished in prison. Joy, however, was of short duration, for not only was his eager prayer for an interview with his father harshly refused, but the blood-thirsty governor, with subtle cruelty, ordered the unhappy man to be beheaded without a single glance at his brave boy, and the order was at once executed.

The poor lad's wrath and sorrow knew no bounds, and natural affection united with the simple creed of his childhood to call him to revenge. He could not forget that to allow "the same heaven" to bend above himself and his father's foe was to prove traitor to sacred love and duty; and the night following the day of his father's cruel death he boldly made his way into the castle of his enemy, and at length found the object of his vengeance. Kicking scornfully at the pillow of his victim, and before the latter could rise to combat his childish foe, Hino's son, with a swift sword, pierced the breast that had shown no mercy, and with gallant courage broke through the difficulties surrounding him, to escape, finally, to the arms of his widowed mother.

Such stories are almost numberless in the records of Japan, and are unanimously commended by the people as embodying the highest ideals of right and honor. While it is not the writer's purpose to maintain that revenge of this sort is *not sin*, yet, as a Japanese, he prizes most highly fidelity to parents and earnestness in pursuing what is regarded as duty.

Perhaps some illustrations of the influence exerted by the incoming of Christianity upon the filial spirit of Japan will show more vividly than simple assertion what a potent factor it forms in Japanese life. A little Japanese boy, only eleven years of age, had in some way found his way into a Christian Sabbath-school, where he heard the new doctrine of the "one true God," and where a new ideal of duty was presented to him. His parents, who were ignorant idolaters, were enraged when they discovered that their son was eager to hear about "the religion of barbarians," and every Sabbath afternoon, on his return from school, inflicted severe punishment upon him, regardless of his unfailing patience. Under the heaviest blows the child never once murmured at the cruelty of his parents, but one Sabbath morning, with a serious look on his face, he came to them, bearing a stout whip in his hand, and bowing reverently before them,

after the fashion of his country, said, earnestly: "Father, mother, I am now going to Sabbath-school, as usual, and I know you will beat me when I return. I get restless and uneasy at school when I remember that I must be punished afterward, so please whip me this morning before I go." So saying, with tears in his eyes, he waited to receive on his already lacerated body the blows which his merciless parents were accustomed to inflict; but they would have been less than human had they resisted so much gentleness of spirit. "Son," sobbed the father, "we cannot beat you any more. *Is this Christianity?* I will go with you and hear the teaching which has made you such a noble boy." Father and mother accompanied the child they had so persecuted to services held in honor of Christ, and ultimately became earnest believers, because in exalting Jesus he did not cease to be a true son of Japan. All honor to this brave child of Yamato, who thus kept intact the spirit of his nation, and yet glorified his new-found faith in One greater than Confucius and purer than the "ancient gods!"

A Japanese Christian, and a well-beloved friend of the writer, in telling of the persecutions heaped upon him by his family when he first became a disciple of Christ, said that he once thought he would rather "go to hell with his mother than go to heaven alone." Poor, struggling soul! But the Father of Love desires such for his children, and he was called to important service, while in due time the revered mother entered "the household of faith."

Here, then, is one "key" by which the Christian missionary may unlock the hearts of my countrymen. Let him cherish and encourage this simple, unobtrusive sense of duty toward parents, which has been cultivated for the past twenty centuries, and, while holding sacred their child-like reverence toward earthly parents, lead these children of the Orient up to the larger love and higher duty due to that "unknown God" whom some among us have lately learned to name "our Father." May infidelity to father and mother ever remain synonymous with *immorality* in the Eastern mind!

The second leading ethical trait peculiar to the spirit of old Japan, namely, "Loyalty to higher authorities," will next be discussed; for, while in Japanese eyes filial love is the foundation-stone of all virtues, loyalty to masters is the crown of them all.

An ignorant Samurai,* after revolting against the present government because he thought it was adopting the manners and the religion of foreigners in defiance of the established customs of his nation, was found dying in an obscure village, and when his body was examined a gilded strip of paper was found on which he had written the following lines:

> "For country's sake, the national guard I scattered,
> And in the village of Ōye I pierced my body and died."

Thus perished a life held cheap by its possessor, who had no other aim than the blind motive that he must die because he supposed that his country would be defiled by so-called "robber hosts"—the sons of the civilized West! This is the extremity to which ignorance and prejudice have driven some of these men trained in simple faith and honesty of purpose from their youth—men whom one may characterize in Japanese fashion as those "whose lives are light as dust, whose duties are as weighty as a thousand rocks." Be it understood that they have no fair promise in their future of recompense for their deeds of valor or of loyalty; for the sake of duty itself they look thus lightly upon their lives. If their conception of duty were raised to the highest Christian stand-point, then they would be just what they should be, and this, in fact, has proved to be the case.

The best and most active among the native Christians are of this class of young men, and, curiously enough, most of them are from the same region which produced the deluded Samurai referred to, whom obedience to a false sense of duty led to death.

To no other Christians does the word "Master," applied to Christ, come with a deeper meaning than to the Japanese disciples of the "martyr of Nazareth." A man may leave his parents and follow his master, but he cannot do the opposite. "If masters be *as* masters, servants will be *as* servants," is one of their favorite mottoes, meaning that if masters love their servants as they ought, they may expect from them all devotion and loyalty; and again, they say, "A loyal servant shall not have two masters under heaven." "Go ye and serve our master; let this old and feeble soldier die alone," are the words

* The military class of Japan, retainers of the Daimios under the feudal system so recently abolished.

with which an aged father sent forth his sons when their services were required by their master. What Christian fathers and mothers do not recall, in reading such words, the sweet but melancholy hours when they were sending forth their sons and daughters to far-off lands, and the islands of distant seas, because their Master had called these loved ones to special service? May watch-words like these be preserved in the nation's heart, as Heaven's most precious heritage; so that, when one Universal Master shall have taken possession of its people, they may all serve him with that singleness of heart which they have been taught to show toward their earthly masters!

In writing of loyalty to superiors, and the relation of servants or retainers to their lords, one cannot well omit some account of the prescribed method of self-destruction known as "Hara-kiri," and its ethical significance.

When, in vision, "Sir Launfal," as the ideal Christian knight, rode forth to seek the Holy Grail, "counting not his life dear unto himself," he would yet have esteemed himself a pitiable coward had he voluntarily sought self-destruction on his sorrowful return from a fruitless quest; but a pagan knight of old Japan, under like circumstances of failure to attain a sacred purpose, would have deemed self-martyrdom a fitting atonement.

Hara-kiri,* once common among the Japanese people, and still practiced to some extent, can scarcely be termed suicide, since in the Western mind that word is inevitably associated with the idea of cowardice and want of self-respect, or, in other words, it is self-murder born of shame or despair, while the hara-kiri of the Japanese is a heroic act, the avoidance of which on certain occasions is considered abject cowardice.

With it is connected the idea of self-sacrifice and a high conception of duty, as well as a keen sense of honor. For instance, it is thought more honorable for a man to die by his own hand than to perish by the sword of his enemies, or to lead an ignoble existence after obtaining their clemency; hence the soldier committed hara-kiri when in danger of capture, surrender being a thing most contemptible in Japanese eyes.

* Literally, abdomen-cutting. It is commonly written "Hara-kari" in the West, through a misspelling of the original words. For a good description of the ceremonies and etiquette attending the rite, see Mitford's "Tales of Old Japan."

When a man desired to show genuine repentance for wrong-doing, the performance of hara-kiri was considered to be the best possible evidence of his penitence and his desire to atone. Another example of what a Japanese would once have thought the "proper use" of this mode of self-destruction may be found in the very ancient custom which led retainers to die by their own hands when their chief passed before them into the future world; for the way of the Hades was supposed to be lone and dreary, and it was a sign of loyal affection when men were brave enough to accompany the departed spirit of a beloved master through the dark passage leading to its final destination.

This cruel custom was, however, abolished many centuries ago, yet occasionally, at a later day, when some favorite general has passed away, the grief of his soldiers has caused them to end their earthly existence in order to follow their lamented chieftain into the unseen world. Thus it may be readily seen that loyalty and self-sacrifice were the real motives impelling men to this peculiar kind of self-murder; and mistaken though they were, a lofty sense of duty lends moral beauty to the fatal deed. There is therefore as much difference between what is called suicide and hara-kiri as there is between the conception of Western nations and the idea of the Japanese people in regard to this rather barbarous act.

As an illustration of popular feeling in the Occident, take the case of Victor Hugo's son-in-law, who suffered himself to drown with his beautiful bride in the Seine, because he could not save her, and who received admiration rather than blame for such a manifestation of intense affection, and the reader will perceive at once how different is the Oriental ideal of duty; for the Japanese would view such a death as mere indulgence in selfish love, involving disregard of higher responsibilities.

A genuine Japanese Samurai in studying Shakespeare would peruse the words which chronicle the heroic conduct of Brutus in his last hour with a heart throbbing with intense admiration, but when he reads concerning love-lorn "Romeo," he cannot prevent a yawn of disgusted weariness as he ejaculates involuntarily, "I will have none on't; we do but lose our time!"

The stories of the "Loyal Ronins," somewhat known to the American reader through various translations, cannot here be recounted at length, though they furnish, perhaps, the most striking example of the relation existing between master and servant that one can gather from Japanese records, and mingle romance and tragedy in a fashion which renders fiction tame. These tales of the olden time relate the exploits of forty-seven Samurai who, unmindful of suffering, obstacles, and dangers, and with the certain prospect of death before them, banded together to avenge their lord's blood, which seemed calling them to sacred duty. Their brave and powerful prince, through the evil conduct of another, had been driven to a desperate attempt for which the punishment decreed by royal command was death to himself and the disbanding of his clan, five thousand strong; and in that despotic age none dared dispute the word of a supreme ruler. The "forty-seven," however, to whom the approval of conscience was dearer than earthly treasure—to whom death was sweeter than dishonor—relentlessly pursued their chosen path, finally accomplished their purpose, and the foe whose malignity had brought ruin to their master fell beneath the same sword with which he had been forced to commit hara-kiri. When their lives were declared forfeit, with noble courage they themselves committed the same act; and to this day, the quiet grave-yard in the capital, where rests the dust of these long-dead heroes, is a sacred place to the admiring pilgrims who "keep their memory green."

The Japanese read with untiring admiration the story of a hero of the Taketa clan whose master, by his unstable mind, had allowed corruption to creep into the ranks of his followers, so that evil men held high carnival. This faithful servant of a recreant lord gave secret warning of the perils threatening a noble house, but his master heard with scorn; and after repeated efforts to avert impending ruin, the true-hearted retainer was driven out of the clan through the machinations of self-elected despots who were laboring for their own selfish purposes. The enemies of the house of Taketa rejoiced when they saw the loyal knight removed from his post of duty, and he was solicited on all sides by the charms of wealth and future prosperity; but he rejected all offers, firmly clinging to

the doctrine that a true Samurai "shall not have two masters under heaven."

At last the hour which he had foreseen came in all its darkness, and his lord was reduced to the direst extremity of need; then without a complaint for former ill-treatment, but with deep sorrow for the fate of his clan, he hastened eagerly to join in the final struggle with the foes of Taketa. Bravely he stood before his ungrateful master, in the front of the battle, and until their cruel lances had pierced him with countless wounds, yielded not an inch to his enemies. Toko, a great patriot of my country, has embalmed this hero's deed in song, in his famous poem on the "Yamato-spirit," but more deeply still in the heart of the nation is enshrined the memory of his heroism, and that of scores of loyal knights who lived and died for duty.

The unfaithful son and the disloyal servant could find no place in the society of "old Japan;" and to show that this spirit of loyalty was not confined to the Samurai class, I would point out the fact that after the forty-seven faithful knights whose story has been referred to had fulfilled their self-imposed task, those who did not join in the "loyal league" were unanimously held in contempt by the people, and were literally excommunicated from society; while some among them, reduced to beggary, finding none to pity, died of starvation.

The new order of government and society has changed the general idea of the people in regard to "loyalty;" and in the arrogant names of liberty and independence, of right and freedom, they are losing much of that royal spirit of fidelity and attachment to their fellow-men; yet something of it remains, and this remnant of "Yamato-damashii" never appears to greater advantage than when seen among the native Christians of Japan; for in many churches, the relation of the people to their pastor is marked by a feeling of love and reverence which might well awaken envy in some pastors of Christendom, although the followers of Spencer may regard these loyal tendencies as "retrograde forms of social organization."

Is it a Utopian dream to hope that before a people like the Japanese pass through manifold experiences in the attainment

of right government and wise administration they may enter, without further preparation, that free kingdom where their inborn faculties will be accepted just as they are, and consecrated to labor in higher, holier spheres? Have not the olden traditions of loyalty to a chief, and the chivalry of knighthood, prepared them in a certain degree for the simple fidelity which should exist among the sharers in that realm where he that will "be the chiefest shall be servant of all?"

In discussing and illustrating the third element of morality which seems a part of the primitive spirit of my country, mention of Buddhism, with its modifying influences, must not be neglected; for a religion inculcating kindness to "the meanest thing that feels" could not fail to increase tenderness in all human relations, and to permeate the hearts of the people with a deeper feeling of brotherhood.

One may say that the source of the Buddhist faith is humanity—a source found in the heart of an Indian prince whose unconquerable sympathy for human suffering impelled him to discard his royal state and seek, in lowly guise, some means for the alleviation of a world's miseries.

So far as *man* could succeed, he won success. His doctrines may be gainsaid, his religious system may be wrong, but none among us doubt that his humanity knew no bounds; and when we have made due allowance for the corruptions and superstitions which have crept into Buddhism, the inventions of his crafty followers, we may rightfully accord all honor to this noblest of the sons of India for the incalculable benefit he brought to the Eastern world in causing men *to feel for men*. We, as heathen, welcome with overwhelming joy the advent of the Greater Light to rule our day, but we are no less grateful to the Father of all mankind for the lesser light by which he hath ruled our night.

When the humanitarianism of Sakya-muni gathered the fair islands of Nippon under its benign influence, although it did not annihilate rank and class distinctions, it intensified the native kindliness of the people toward dependents and inferiors. Mr. Mori, after some experience in England as his country's representative, declared that he missed in the West "that sense of brotherhood which binds together all the members of one family, and which extends from them to all the dwellers in one district;" and in commenting on this opinion a foreign writer

remarks that it is this bond of interest "which keeps the number of paupers in Japan down to a very low figure." As servants in my country have usually proven "servants indeed," so masters have, as a rule, well fulfilled the duty of masters. The affection existing between the two parties was like that of parents and children; and so profound was this attachment that it has often been carried to extremes on the part of the masters as well as on that of their servants. Saigo, the illustrious head of the Kagoshima rebellion which occurred a few years ago, is said to have had no other motive in taking up arms against the government than a desire to comply with the request of his followers. When the impetuous youths came to him begging that he would lead in an armed revolt against the established order, he replied, in yielding his consent: "Well, my young friends, you are going to give my head to your enemies within seven months." The prophecy of the brave but unwise chieftain was literally fulfilled, for the rebellion, which broke out in February, was crushed in September of the same year, and love for his youthful adherents cost him his life.

When castles were to be evacuated in time of war, commanders of the garrisons usually presented themselves to the enemy as sacrifices, that their followers might be saved, and this without any thought that they were attaining the ideal of a "supreme love" in this self-abnegation, but as "simple soldiers of duty" and affection. This peculiar affection exists in all social spheres; and clerks entering the stores of merchants, apprentices coming into the shops of mechanics, children becoming the pupils of school-masters, all are brought into relations of kindly intimacy with their superiors, not because of self-interest, but for the sake of sacred duty inhering in the idea of these social ties. The stories of sacrifices made by inferiors for those above them in authority have a pathos of their own; but when superiors deny themselves ease and comfort, and in some instances lay down their lives for their dependents, the action holds a deeper meaning, especially to Christians who have so lately learned that "the Highest" has offered the supreme sacrifice of himself, not because we "loved him," but that he "loved us."

Among the heroes of this class stands pre-eminent a peas-

ant of Sakura named Sogoro, who, in the year 1712 of the Christian era, died a death the noblest of which the human mind can conceive. Japan had enjoyed continuous peace for about a century, and men had almost forgotten the use of arms. But a few years before Sogoro won the crown of martyrdom the country had been thrown into confusion by the conduct of the Jesuits, and a fierce contest arose. Every prince was required to furnish a contingent, and the lord of Sakura province, as a prince of power and resources, was ordered to supply the central government with a strong force.

Heavy taxes were laid upon the people, and thus came evil, for entire control of the matter was placed in the hands of a single officer, who thought it a good opportunity to make his own fortune by levying additional taxes in the name of the public revenue; and, gathering about him a band of covetous subordinates, they began a wholesale despoiling of the over-burdened people. The laws forbade any commoner to offer petitions directly to the central government, and all complaints and requests had to be presented through the mediation of the local authorities. If a common man should venture to approach the person of his prince the penalty was imprisonment; but should he dare to invade the sacred presence of the shōgun, the supreme ruler, he must be crucified! The existence of such a law gave the avaricious tax-collector excellent opportunity to wring "the uttermost farthing" from the oppressed masses, and, with unflagging zeal in his unrighteous task, he drove them to desperation by his cruel exactions.

For three years, with starvation staring them in the face, the unhappy people struggled on, their frequent petitions to the wicked prefect being treated with scorn, while some of their number, more courageous than the rest, had tried to approach the prince of Sakura himself, and had paid for their temerity by imprisonment. One hundred and thirty-six villages shared in the sufferings inflicted by the rapacity of one man, and as many as eight hundred families were reduced to the lowest state of penury. In this time of trial the soul of that hero, "from far-off years the people's king," aroused itself in behalf of the starving peasants. The head man of a village, long esteemed by his neighbors as a man of wisdom and philanthropy, Sogoro was also blessed with wealth, so that in times of distress the

needy turned to him as to a father. By his counsels and sympathy, as well as by his open-handed generosity, he alleviated the miseries of the villagers to the utmost of his ability: but a day came when dire need drew near his own threshold. and his supply of food was failing, while starvation reigned throughout the province. Then, since his life could no longer avail his fellow-sufferers, he resolved to die for them. To his comrades in council he said, with simple courage:

"I will approach the shōgun himself with a petition; my neighbors were true to me in time of peace and prosperity, and I will now serve them in their hour of need."

"By no means," protested one of them, "for the law declares that such as intrude upon the shōgun shall be crucified, and their wives and children shall be beheaded."

"I am aware of that," calmly replied Sogoro.

"Then, if your purpose cannot be shaken, we will die with you the death of the cross," rejoined they all.

"Nay," said the hero, "one is enough. When they see me on the cross you will be released from your burdens."

Their tears fell as they heard his words, but his determination was as strong as his sympathy for his starving fellow-men: and when they found him immovable, in spite of their protestations, all cried with one accord: "Father Sogoro, take no thought for your wife and children: you die for us, and we will die for your dear ones."

The affection between the chief and the simple-hearted villagers was without limit, and, with hot tears of mingled grief and gratitude, they saw him pass from their midst never to look upon his face again until it smiled upon them from the vicarious cross of sacrifice.

On returning to his now poverty-stricken home to bid his wife farewell, Sogoro tried to induce her to accept a written divorce from him, that she might not share his fate, but she would not heed his pleadings.

"What is this, my lord?" sobbed the brave woman. "When I was married to you, I was married for two worlds.* Why not let me share the cross and your agony?"

* "Two worlds" (that is, the present and the future). According to the Buddhist idea there are *three* worlds with which we have to do—that of the past, the present, and the future.

"Good!" exclaimed her husband. "Thou deservest to be called the wife of Sogoro. Let us, then, go to the cross hand in hand."

So saying, he left his home to return no more, and sought the capital to await an opportunity for presenting a petition to the shōgun. A day came when the great ruler went abroad with his retinue, and Sogoro hid under a bridge which the procession was to pass. When the litter bearing the shōgun reached this point, the daring farmer clambered up, and, in spite of much opposition, thrust a written petition into the conveyance—a simple act fruitful in consequences. He was arrested at once, and, according to the usage of the time, bound with hempen ropes, and cast into prison; but the paper he had presented was read by the shōgun, who, as was customary, transferred the matter in hand to the prince whom it concerned, with a rebuke for his careless administration. One good connected with the despotic government of that period was the feeling prevalent among the feudal lords; if one among them lost the favor of his people, all looked upon him with contempt, and his influence at court was considerably lessened.

Thus, indirectly, the prince of Sakura was destined to receive some recompense for his mismanagement of provincial affairs, but being a man of harsh temper and rash judgment, he immediately passed the established sentence upon Sogoro, and, although sympathy flowed toward the noble peasant, nothing could avert his doom. The sentence decreed that "this fellow," who had "approached the sacred person of the shōgun," should be crucified, together with his wife, and that their three children should be beheaded. The whole province put on mourning, and several of the people offered themselves as substitutes for the innocent wife and children, but all were rejected. The day of crucifixion came, and the multitude thronged to do homage to the brave farmer and his wife, as uplifted on crosses, side by side, they awaited death. The three children were beheaded before the eyes of the parents, and when they had thus seen the doom of innocence, glittering spears pierced their anguish-stricken breasts, and the sacrifice was complete.

The whole country mourned for the patriot, and additional shame was cast upon the tyrannical prince. Proper authorities were soon dispatched to investigate the matter, the avaricious

prefect was arrested, oppressed farmers were released, and thus by the offering of "innocent blood" righteousness was restored, while peace and joy abounded throughout the province.

Such is a cursory account of the martyrdom of the noblest of my countrymen, and is it sacrilege to discern in the self-abnegation of this peasant-hero a faint shadow of the matchless love and sorrow which led the "Holy One of Israel" to Calvary?

No better illustration can be offered of that spirit in Japan, which moves the greater to suffer for the less, the superior for the weaker inferior; and though time and change may have enfeebled it, none can question that it exists to-day. A people which in all simplicity accepts the truth that

> "The noblest place where man can die,
> Is where he dies for man,"

naturally expects from an apostle of the Supreme Saviour of humanity a loftier ideal than is perhaps required of him in Christendom; and a life spent in their behalf will win an appreciation deeper than is found among most of those to whom the Christian evangelist is sent. A drop of blood shed for them would be a testimony for the truth more impressive and more permanent than years of preaching from the pulpit; but while we of pagan lands are scarcely so exacting as to ask the teacher (presumably our superior) of a higher faith to exemplify it by shedding his blood for our sakes, we yet are, at times, constrained to mourn; for while the fair achievements of Christian missionaries in the far East are beyond praise, and Japan, like every mission-field, has its secret heroisms and unrecorded sacrifices, Japanese converts, "in the spirit of love," sometimes turn with saddened faces toward workers homeward bound after years of toil, and whisper to each other, "We want to see more missionaries' graves in Japan."

Art. IV.—CONSTITUTIONAL LAW IN THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

[Second Paper.]

In a previous number of this Review (January, 1885) an inquiry was made into certain questions in the constitutional law of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The special questions there discussed related to the constitution, to wit, what part of the Discipline has constitutional authority, to the powers of the General Conference, the prerogatives of the episcopacy, and especially the right of the General Conference to authorize an elective presiding eldership.

It is proposed in this article to consider the question of the rights and immunities of the ministry of the Church as guaranteed by the fifth Restrictive Rule of the constitution. And this is not a question of merely theoretical and speculative interest, for it is the opinion of many that the organic law of the Church, together with the great principle of the sanctity of personal rights as embodied in the fifth Restrictive Rule, has been violated by a statute enacted a few years ago by the General Conference.

The General Conference of 1880 passed a law, which is now a part of our Discipline, according to which a traveling preacher may be deprived of membership in his Conference by the process of compulsory location, while denying to him the right of trial and the privilege of appeal to a higher tribunal. This has created considerable dissatisfaction throughout the ministry and Church, as introducing a dangerous principle into the law of the Church, and as a violation of that rule of the constitution which secures to the ministry the rights of trial and appeal. The following is the constitutional Rule:

> ¶ 5. The General Conference shall not do away the privileges of our ministers or preachers of trial by a committee, and of an appeal; neither shall they do away the privileges of our members of trial before the society or by a committee, and of an appeal.*

The law providing for compulsory location—that is, in plain and untechnical language, providing for expulsion from mem-

* Discipline, 1884, ¶ 71.

bership in the Annual Conference, and from all the duties and privileges that belong to the traveling ministry of the Church —is as follows:

When a traveling preacher is so unacceptable, inefficient, or secular, as to be no longer useful in his work, the Conference may request him to ask for a location; and if he shall refuse to comply with the request, the Conference shall bear with him till the session next ensuing, at which time, if he persist in his refusal, the Conference may, without formal trial, locate him without his consent, by a vote of two thirds of the members present and voting; provided, however, that in no case shall a preacher be located while there are charges against him for immoral conduct.*

That there is a *prima facie* conflict between the constitution and this statute will be readily conceded. The constitution guarantees to the ministry the right of trial and appeal. This statute sanctions expulsion from the traveling ministry, which is one of the severest forfeitures and penalties in the power of an Annual Conference, without trial or appeal. There is here not only a forfeiture of ecclesiastical dignity, but also a reflection on ministerial and Christian character. A *secular* minister is one false to his vocation. There is also a deprivation from the pastoral office and from the temporalities of the ministry of the Church. It is true that the statute uses the term "formal trial;" but, inasmuch as form is of the very essence of trial, and *informal trial* is an absurdity, the effect of the statute is to deny every thing that is known in law by the well understood term *trial*. And inasmuch as the court of appeal decides all cases by the trial records of the court below, it follows that where there has been no trial there can be no appeal. The statute, therefore, provides for forced deprivation of Conference membership, that is, for expulsion from Conference, without trial or appeal.

In order to get at the full significance of this fifth Restrictive Rule, which has been called the Magna Charta of our ministers and members, it will be well to recall the history of the formation of the constitution, and also the early penal legislation of the Church. The early part of the century was a constitution-making epoch. Men were jealous of personal rights; and the discussions of the times, in the formation of the Federal and State Constitutions, had familiarized the American mind with

* Discipline, 1884, ¶ 188.

the methods and principles of constitutional government. The fathers of Methodism were men of their time, and in laying the foundations for the Church that should spread holiness over the continent they "called to their help, for the protection of rights acquired through Church relations, the same genius which free States for hundreds of years had appealed to for the protection of civil rights." In the year 1808, in a General Conference held at Baltimore, and composed of all the preachers, they adopted a brief but comprehensive constitution in which were clearly defined the creed and polity of the Church, the peculiar style of her episcopacy, and the moral discipline of her members. They also provided that the income from the publishing house and from the Chartered Fund should go to the benefit of the ministry, to the "worn-out preachers, their wives, widows, and children." But this was not all. In harmony with the spirit of the time, they carefully guarded the rights and privileges of the individual members of the Church. As the Constitution of the Nation, and of every State in the Nation, secured to their respective citizens the right of defense in trial by jury in both criminal and civil actions, so the constitution of the Methodist Episcopal Church committed the rights and immunities of her ministers and members to the same great institution of jury trial, with the privilege of appeal.

But the analogy must be pressed closer still, for the "trial by committee," enjoined in the fifth Rule, corresponds to the grand jury trial in the system of the State. As the grand jury dismisses a prisoner or holds him for trial in the regular courts, so the committee in our Church system dismisses an accused minister or suspends him till the next session of his Conference. Dismissal with character vindicated, or suspension "till the ensuing Conference," is the only verdict in the power of the committee. Original jurisdiction and trial proper are invariably with the Annual Conference, while the appeal referred to in the fifth Rule, is appeal from the decision of the Annual Conference to the General Conference. The fact that original jurisdiction in the trial of ministers resides in the Annual Conference (a fact which has never been questioned in the courts of the Church) is demonstration that the appeal secured in the rule is from the finding of the Annual Conference to the

General Conference. *And if the rule guarantees the right of appeal from the Annual Conference, it guarantees the right of trial in the Annual Conference.*

The right to an appeal can only stand in the right to and the fact of a previous *trial.* An investigation, an inquiry, that is to say, an informal trial, may precede a *trial,* but the trial must be had and judgment given before an appeal can be taken.*

That this is the only possible interpretation of the fifth Restrictive Rule is further proved by the penal statutes in force at the beginning of the century. The usage of trial at the time when the constitution was adopted was, that the presiding elder, in the interval of Conference sessions, should appoint a committee of "at least three," and "if the person be clearly convicted he shall be *suspended* from all official services in the Church *till the ensuing yearly Conference,* at which his case shall be fully considered and determined."† Such was the law of the Church in 1808, and for many years prior to that date. And when the case of a suspended preacher came before his Conference it came *de novo,* not as an appeal, but with a new bill of charges and specifications, and with such witnesses as the parties chose to produce. This is the usage to this day, and it was the established usage when the constitution was adopted.

The law for "imprudent conduct, improper words or actions" was the same. In the interval of Conference a committee inquired into the offense, and "if he be not cured, *he shall be tried at the Conference of his district* (the Annual Conference), and if found guilty and impenitent he shall be expelled from the connection."‡ The law for trial of "local preachers, local deacons, and local elders" was analogous to that for the traveling preachers. In the interval of the Quarterly Conference investigation was made by "three or more local preachers," and if found guilty the accused was "suspended till the ensuing Quarterly Conference." "And in such case . . . the next Quarterly Conference shall proceed upon his trial." "And in case of condemnation the local preacher, deacon, or elder condemned shall be allowed an appeal to the next yearly Conference."§

* "Pittsburg Christian Advocate," April 20, 1882.

† Sherman's "Hist. of Discipline," p. 189. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 190. § *Ibid.*, p. 192.

The privilege of appeal did not originate with the constitution in 1808, but existed from the beginning. In harmony with canon law in ecclesiastical history, and with the jurisprudence of all free States, the principle of appeal to a higher tribunal was a part of our system long before the constitution was adopted. The law of 1792 was as follows:

> Provided, nevertheless, that in all the above-mentioned cases of trial and conviction an appeal to the ensuing General Conference shall be allowed.*

That the Annual Conference as a court never had the character of a court of appeals in our judicial system is shown in the fact that new specifications and new testimony are always admissible in a Conference trial. Trial on appeal is limited strictly to the documentary evidence supplied from the lower court. An appellate court is a court of record. Who ever heard of a traveling preacher carrying his case up to the Annual Conference *by appeal* from the committee that suspended him? The suspension is final and irreparable, and when the Conference meets the full penalty which the law permits to the committee has been borne by the accused. When, therefore, the constitution guaranteed "the privilege of our ministers or preachers of trial by a committee and of an appeal," it perpetuated, and was intended by its authors to perpetuate, those methods of trial and appeal that were then the usage of the Church. The very wording of the Rule implies this, for it assumes the existence of a well-understood usage in trial procedure: "the General Conference *shall not do away the privileges* of our ministers," etc. No preacher can be suspended by official prerogative for a single hour, nor can he be the subject of any censure or any penalty whatsoever, without the action of a "committee," and no suspension is valid for a single hour beyond the assembling of his Conference at the next ensuing session. Bishop Baker, in his work on the Discipline, sums up the matter as follows:

> The Restrictive Rules provide that ministers or preachers shall have the privilege of trial and appeal by a committee. This implies that ministers shall not be suspended in the intervals of Conference, as they formerly were (prior to 1789), with-

* Sherman, p. 200.

out the investigation and action of a committee; but it was not intended to abridge the powers of an Annual Conference—it has original jurisdiction over its members.

The "fathers" were very proud of the care which our law took of individual rights, and made frequent use of it in their apologetic disputations. Bishop Asbury, in his "Notes on the Discipline," makes constant reference to it, and Dr. Nathan Bangs, in his "Vindication," written in 1820, writes:

> That no minister who may have been accused and condemned shall have any cause to complain, he is allowed an appeal from the judgment of the Annual Conference to the General Conference.*

There can, therefore, be no doubt as to the meaning of the fifth Restrictive Rule. When the assembly of the preachers in 1808 declared that the delegated General Conference created by their action "shall not do away the privileges of our ministers or preachers of trial by a committee and of an appeal," they secured said ministers and preachers against even suspension in the interval of Conference except after trial by a committee; they secured them against censure or penalty by the Annual Conference except after trial by the Conference; and they also secured to them the privilege of appeal to a higher tribunal.

The "Pittsburg Christian Advocate," in an editorial of March 9, 1882, construed the constitutional Rule as follows:

> The intention, then, of the framers of the constitution of the Church, in the adoption of the fifth Restrictive Rule, was to secure the rights and guard the liberties of the ministers and preachers of the Church by a fair and impartial trial; and to do these the more effectually, and work a remedy in case of failure, they planted in the constitution itself the right to appeal to the highest court, subject to no restrictions, except the observance of proper methods of procedure. The fifth Restrictive Rule is the minister's *Magna Charta*, and must not be violated. If it is not technically competent to do this, the spirit must supply the deficiency. To be condemned without trial, with no appellate rights, is a monstrous proposition, not to be thought of, and to prevent which the fifth Restrictive Rule was imbedded in the constitution of the Church. No statutory law that divests the subject of these rights can hold its place in the jurisprudence of

* Bangs's "Vindication," p. 146.

the Church. No technical constructions of law can or ought to keep it there. If the intention of the framers of the constitution were doubtful—if the practice of the Church under it had been ambiguous or contradictory—a liberal construction of the law, in the interests of personal rights, would be demanded by every consideration of policy and justice. But the intention of the framers is not in doubt, and the practice of the Church has not been equivocal.

Every question in constitutional law is a serious one, and may at any time become an intensely practical one, as was strikingly shown at the last session of the General Conference when the question was debated of the right of a Bishop to take part in the discussions of the Conference. Bishop M'Kendree, in resisting an elective presiding eldership in 1821, addressed the Annual Conferences as follows:

> This question does not turn so much on the utility or inutility of the change proposed as on the *constitutionality* thereof, because on *this point all our rights as preachers and members depend.*

The General Conference cannot be too careful that its acts do not transcend the restraints of the organic law. The Church has intrusted vast powers under the law to that body, and there should be no temptation to trespass beyond them. On this question of constitutional restraint, Judge Cooley, in his work on Constitutional Law, writes:

> Legislators have their authority measured by the constitution; they are chosen to do what it permits and nothing more, and they take solemn oath to obey and defend it. When they disregard its provisions, they usurp authority, abuse their trust, and violate the promise they have confirmed by an oath. To pass an act when *they are in doubt* whether it does not violate the constitution is to treat as of no force the most imperative obligations any person can assume.*

Having examined the fifth Restrictive Rule, and having reached a definite interpretation—and the only possible interpretation, when we take into account the phraseology of the Rule, the penal laws existent at the time of its adoption, and the history of trial procedure in the Church—we are now prepared to inquire whether our law for the compulsory location of preachers is or is not in violation of the constitution. Let

* "Principles of Constitutional Law," p. 153.

us ascertain what is involved in compulsory location. It involves the loss of membership in the Annual Conference, exclusion from the pastoral office, and from the pulpits of the Church; that is to say, in our peculiar system it practically involves deposition from the ministry of the Gospel. A preacher located under this law goes forth with a brand upon his brow —"unacceptable, inefficient, secular." To put him into the order of local preachers is an insult to that body of ministers, for he has been degraded from his ministerial functions under a law which practically is a reflection on his character as a Christian. It further involves the loss of what the civil courts call "substantial rights"—rights in reputation, in ministerial labor and usefulness, and in property and substance; vocation and income are both gone.

Membership in a body is a property, especially membership in an Annual Conference. A traveling preacher, by virtue of his place in his Conference, has a right to a part in all the proceedings of the body, and to an appointment in the pastoral office among the churches of the Conference, and to the support attaching thereto. He has also a right, in case of sickness or old age, to the care which the Church bestows upon its needy ministers. It is the pride and boast of Methodism, in all lands, that it provides for its worn-out ministers as perhaps no other Church in Christendom does. In the Methodist Episcopal Church this provision comes from the profits of the Book Concern and Chartered Fund (secured to the traveling ministry by the sixth Restrictive Rule), from endowment funds owned by the Conferences, and from collections taken yearly in the churches. Membership in an Annual Conference is, therefore, a guarantee of "a comfortable support" to its ministers during active service, and a pension when honorably discharged from service. These are indeed "substantial rights," and are the return which the Church makes to its ministers for exacting from them a pledge, as they stand at the door of the Conference, that they will give themselves wholly to the work of the ministry, be obedient to the laws of the Church, and, without voice or sign of protest, go to such fields of labor as the Conference, through its presiding Bishop, may choose to appoint for them. If it be true that no Church takes such excellent care of its ministers, it is equally true that no Church makes

so exacting demands on them. Surely it cannot seriously be said that all these rights and privileges of membership in a Conference have no relation whatever to the constitutional Rule which secures the privilege of trial and appeal, or that a minister may be deprived of these rights by vote in open Conference without any benefit from the constitution. But this is what we are now told. This new location law provides for forfeiture and deprivation of the most serious kind, and whether we apply the term *penalty* to this deprivation or not, it is nevertheless one of the severest inflictions in the power of an Annual Conference, and one of the severest penalties that can be put upon a preacher. There is only one step further in the power of the Conference, and that is, expulsion from the Church.

The construction of the fifth Rule put forward by the abettors of this law in their endeavor to defend its constitutionality is, that the term "committee" in the Rule refers to such committee as the presiding elder appoints in the interval of Conference sessions, and that the term "appeal" refers to appeal from the judgment of said committee to the Annual Conference. They say that "The fifth Restrictive Rule was never intended to have any reference to the doings of an Annual Conference." * According to this construction, our organic law provides for no appeal from an Annual Conference to the General Conference, neither does it secure the right of trial to an accused preacher in his Conference. An Annual Conference may therefore do what it please with its members in defiance of right and justice, may censure them, suspend them, or expel them from the Church, but those members have no constitutional right to say, "Hold! do not condemn me without a hearing." According to this interpretation, the fathers of the Church, in limiting the powers of the General Conference, provided that a preacher could not be suspended for an hour from his ministry in the interval of the Conference without trial by a committee of his peers, but when Conference convened he had no rights whatsoever, nor any protection against any injustice that the Conference might heap upon him. The ministry of the Methodist Episcopal Church, forsooth, have no constitutional guarantees to protect them against unjust legislation

* "The Christian Advocate," New York, Feb. 23, 1882.

by the General Conference, nor against unjust treatment by the Annual Conference, and our boasted constitution is a fog-bank to mislead—instead of being a fortress of defense—a cluster of apples of Sodom. It is simply amazing that intelligent men could have put forth such an interpretation of a fundamental law of Methodism.

We again quote from an editorial of the "Pittsburg Christian Advocate" of April 20, 1882:

> It is now contended, for the first time, so far as we are informed, that the fifth Restrictive Rule simply means that an accused minister or preacher, in the interval of an Annual Conference, shall have the right to be tried by a committee, and if condemned, shall have the further right to appeal to his Annual Conference. We have tried to show (with how much success our readers must judge) that if this be so, it confers nothing and protects nothing, save the trifling privilege of not being suspended from the ministry a few months, it may be a few weeks, or even days, before the session of his Conference, which is to finally determine the question of guilt without being brought before a committee first. This would seem like trifling with organic law, and a studied effort to delude the ministry with a shadow, under the pretense of conserving most sacred rights.
>
> We do not believe the members of the General Conference of 1808—the last General Conference that ever met, or was to meet, and which was divesting itself of all legislative authority, and putting it into the hands of a delegated body, and which designed, by the fifth Restrictive Rule, to guard itself and its successors forever against injustice and oppression, so far as human wisdom could construct a defense — ever intended to deceive their sons in the ministry with a constitutional figment, or to cast from themselves the full corn in the ear, and accept as their portion the bare husks. They were jealous of their rights as ministers, and supposed they were fortifying them by the Rule under consideration. To interpret the Rule as now contended for, is to charge them with the greatest legislative stupidity.

But in order to be perfectly fair to the question before us, and to put the defense of the law in its best light, we quote the argument of Judge George G. Reynolds, as found in "The Christian Advocate" of March 30, 1882. The editor of the "Advocate" having been requested to publish an opinion by "some high authority on the question," made an appeal to the distinguished Brooklyn judge, of whom he used the following

courteous and just language: "One of the most distinguished judges in this State, a man twice honored by his fellow-citizens by election to a high judicial position, noted for the fairness and accuracy of his decisions, and familiar with the history of the constitution of the Methodist Episcopal Church." The following are the letters in the case:

HON. GEORGE G. REYNOLDS:

DEAR SIR: You may have observed various articles, editorial and contributed, in "The Christian Advocate" for some months past on the provision made by the last General Conference for locating inefficient, unacceptable, or secular traveling preachers. If in the midst of your judicial engagements you can find the time to express an opinion as to its harmony with the constitution of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and its relation to the rights of ministers and Annual Conferences, you will confer a favor upon me personally and upon the readers of "The Christian Advocate" by so doing. Respectfully yours,

J. M. BUCKLEY.

MY DEAR DOCTOR: In view of my engagements, I must confine myself to a bare statement of my conclusions. I have not made a special study of the subject, but I see no reason to doubt either the constitutionality or justice of the present rule in regard to locating preachers. That it is not violative of the fifth Restrictive Rule is, it seems to me, conclusively shown by Dr. Kettell in his paper before the New York Preachers' Meeting.* The privilege of "trial by a committee, and of an appeal," secured by that Rule, of course, refers to such trial by committee as was then known; that is, trial by a committee in the interval between Conference sessions, and an appeal from the determination of such committee to the Conference. No other trial, no other appeal, was had in view. The Rule, therefore, does not cover the case in hand, nor was it designed to. And in the absence of constitutional provision, the right of appeal in any given case is matter of legislative discretion.

The historical argument, as lately presented by you, is equally conclusive in the line of precedent and authority. The General Conference of 1836, upon the report of an able Judiciary Committee, expressly decided "that the Discipline does *not* prohibit an Annual Conference from locating one of its ministers without his consent;" also, that there was no provision for an appeal from such decision. This was reaffirmed in 1840. As to the first proposition, no General Conference has, even by implication, decided otherwise. An express rule was then formulated for the compulsory location of preachers by Annual Conference.

* Dr. Kettell's paper was published in full in "The Christian Advocate" of February 23, 1882.

This seems to have been since construed as requiring a formal trial upon charges and specifications. This was evidently a misconception of the law. The investigation of the case, in the nature of things, could not properly take the form of a trial, as for a *criminal* offense, or a breach of Discipline. To correct an inapt and erroneous practice which had grown up, the law of 1880 was passed, providing in terms for location without *formal* trial. But opportunity for the fullest defense was never denied; least of all now. The party arraigned can be heard, not only in person, but by as many friends as he can muster on the Conference floor. Not only so, but now this must be done two years in succession, and then he can only be located by a two thirds vote. It is amazing that a law which adds to the substance of the former Rule two such exacting safeguards in favor of the accused should be assailed as an invasion of his rights.

The objection to the remedy is, that it is too weak. Its merit is, that it recognizes the right of an Annual Conference, which ought to know its own members, to keep some watch over their qualifications, and to hold them, in some feeble measure at least, to the standard of devotion and fitness required for admission to its ranks. The rights of the churches and the interests of religion are branches of the subject which I should be glad to enter upon more fully, but neither your space nor my time afford a present opportunity. G. G. REYNOLDS.

BROOKLYN, *March* 25, 1882.

The editor of "The Christian Advocate," in his elaborate defense of the law, fights shy of the constitutional difficulty, taking refuge under the wing of the judge, and contents himself with saying:

> As to the constitutionality of the law, no doubts can be raised that are not removed by the history of the question, and by the very language of the Restrictive Rule.*

Let us note briefly the main points in the letter of Judge Reynolds, in which we may expect to find the best possible defense of the constitutionality of the law. It is due the judge to remember that he disclaims having made "a special study of the subject," and that, for argument, he is content to refer to the writings of others; but, despite this, we are greatly surprised at his construction of the constitutional Rule. He tells us that "the privilege of 'trial by a committee, and of an appeal,' secured by that Rule, of course, refers to such trial by committee as was then known; that is, trial by a committee in the interval between Conference sessions, and an appeal from

* "The Christian Advocate," March 16, 1882.

the determination of such committee to the Conference. No other trial, no other appeal, was had in view."

The judge does not seem to know that the phrase, "an appeal to the Annual Conference," is one unknown to the courts of our Church, in cases where traveling preachers are concerned, for both the phrase and the thing signified by it are rendered impossible by our trial laws and usages. The law of the Church, before and after 1808, defined the penalty which the committee might inflict, namely, "suspension till the ensuing Conference;" but the penalty, when once administered by the committee, is irreparable, and admits of no appeal. A suspended preacher is in the hands of his Conference, and comes before the body at its session for trial or otherwise as it shall decide, the Conference having original jurisdiction over its members; but from any action taken by the Conference the condemned preacher has the right of appeal to the General Conference. This has been the order of trial procedure of the Church for a hundred years. It was a well-established order at the time of the adoption of the constitution, and its continuance is secured in the peculiar phraseology of the Rule: "The General Conference *shall not do away* the privileges of our ministers," etc.

Judge Cooley, in his work quoted above, tells us that it is the weakness of written constitutions that they are liable to be construed "on technical principles of verbal criticism, rather than in the light of great principles." This is just the trap into which our friends have fallen in their interpretation of the fifth Rule. They have been misled by the verbiage of the Rule, and have failed to read it in the atmosphere of its history and intention.

Judge Reynolds proceeds to inform us that "the Discipline does not prohibit an Annual Conference from locating one of its members without his consent," (and without trial?) and that "no General Conference, even by implication, has decided otherwise." Let us test the accuracy of that statement by the resolution passed by the General Conference of 1820, by which a located preacher of the Baltimore Conference was restored to his Conference:

Resolved, By the delegates of the Annual Conferences in General Conference assembled, that they reverse the act of the

Baltimore Conference, by which William Houston, an infirm traveling preacher of said Conference, was located against his will, *no charge of immorality or other ground of censure* against William Houston having been preferred against him, or in any wise pretended.*

Surely there is a distinct "implication" in this action that location is illegal, except under grave and specific charges, and after trial. For the history of this subject in the General Conference, the reader is referred to an article by this writer in "The Christian Advocate" of Feb. 16, 1882.† A few facts in the history may be given. All the appeals taken to the General Conference, up to the year 1836, by men who had been located by their Conferences, were entertained and duly considered by the Conference, and in every case the located men were restored to their Conferences. But there was no statute on the subject in the Discipline prior to 1836, and, consequently, there was no uniform usage or opinion among the Annual Conferences, and some preachers were located in a high-handed way, contrary to justice and the guarantees of the constitution. The General Conference, in admitting the appeals of those located preachers, and in reversing the decrees of the Annual Conferences, in the absence of statute on the subject, must have done so under the authority of the fifth Restrictive Rule.

But that state of things was ended in 1836, when the law was enacted which remained in force up to 1880. That law was always construed by the Church, as Bishop Baker sets forth in his work on the Discipline, as debarring an Annual Conference from locating its members without trial and appeal.

When a traveling preacher is accused of being so unacceptable, inefficient, or secular as to be no longer useful in his work, there must be the same formality of trial—specifications, witnesses, record of testimony, etc.—as in case of immorality.

In case of location without consent, the aggrieved party is allowed appeal to the General Conference. The Secretary of an Annual Conference must carefully take all the testimony given in the Annual Conference.

* "General Conference Journal," vol. i, p. 189.

† On same subject, editorials in "The Christian Advocate" of March 9, 16, and 30, 1882; in "Pittsburg Christian Advocate," March 9, April 13 and 20, 1882, and in the "Northern Christian Advocate," March 23, 1882.

It is rather late for Judge Reynolds to tell us that "this was evidently a misconstruction of the law." Elijah Hedding and his coadjutors in the episcopacy were competent judges of Methodist law. The writer of this article was informed by the Rev. Moses Hill, a distinguished member of the Maine Conference, and a member of the General Conference of 1836, that Bishop Hedding was called upon by his Conference for an interpretation of the law then recently enacted, in a case of location, and the Bishop ruled that the preacher had the right of trial, and based his ruling on the fifth Restrictive Rule.

But even that law of 1836, excellent as it was, was looked upon with some apprehension by leading minds in the Church at the time of its enactment. Dr. Nathan Bangs, who was a member of the General Conferences of 1808 and 1836, and of all the intervening Conferences, and who, concerning the Methodism of those early days, might say without boasting, *magna pars fui*, in his "History of Methodism," vol. iv, p. 241, writes as follows:

> There was one alteration made in the Discipline at this Conference which went to affect the administration very materially, as it lodged in an Annual Conference a tremendous power over its members for good or evil, according to the manner in which it might be exercised.
>
> For several successive General Conferences the question had been mooted, whether an Annual Conference had legitimate authority to locate one of its members without his consent, and the predominant opinion seemed to be that no such power existed.
>
> The question came up for consideration at this time, and a rule was finally passed, giving to an Annual Conference the power to locate one of its members who has rendered himself "unacceptable as a traveling preacher," in their judgment, allowing him, however, the privilege of an appeal to the next General Conference.
>
> This rule is founded on the presumption, that whenever a member of an Annual Conference fails to fulfill the obligations of his trust, and which were the conditions on which he entered the fraternity, he forfeits his privileges and all the immunities of his official rank, and hence the Conference has the right of dismissing him from their employment as an unfaithful servant. It is allowed, however, that this power ought to be exercised with great caution and moderation, lest it degenerate into tyranny and oppression.

These are the reflections of Nathan Bangs on a law which secured to a preacher about to be located the privileges of trial

and appeal. What would the old hero say had he lived to 1880 and seen the new law? He tells us that the law of 1836 was an "alteration in the Discipline" that "lodged in an Annual Conference a tremendous power over its members for good or evil." It was, therefore, a power which those Conferences did not formerly possess. He tells us, that the "predominant opinion" of the times was, that an Annual Conference did not possess "legitimate authority to locate one of its members without his consent;" and when the law was passed permitting location by trial and appeal, he warned the Church that "this power ought to be exercised with great caution and moderation, lest it degenerate into tyranny and oppression." It would seem that Methodist preachers have degenerated since those times in their regard for personal rights. It is no credit to us that the present bad law should have lived into a second quadrennium. On this point Dr. Alfred Wheeler, in criticising the law, has written as follows:

> Vigorous life is jealous of individual rights, and will allow their sacrifice only when avoidance is impossible. And this same jealousy is one of the best securities for the preservation of all rights, general or special, and for the administration of all law, constitutional or statutory.

But it is due to the official periodicals of the Church to say, that many of them expressed a vigorous protest against the law as introducing a dangerous principle into the economy of the Church, and as a violation of the organic law. "The Northwestern Christian Advocate," in an editorial of March 22, 1882, declared as follows:

> Now that our friends in the New York "Advocate" have about concluded their argument, we feel free to say that we doubt the justice of, and the solidity of, the ground beneath the law passed by the last General Conference to authorize the location of a traveling preacher without his consent, even under the provided conditions. We grant squarely and sadly that the Church has indeed (a very small per cent. of) ministers from whom she deserves deliverance. They ought to be out—speedily, effectually, irremediably out. All expedient things are not legal things. Trial on general principles—charges, without specifications, will not do. . . . When a man is thrust out from our itinerant ministry he must go "for cause." If there is cause, that cause must be judicially shown, as it certainly can be shown if the defendant is guilty. Location without consent is *punitive*, notwithstanding

all denial and labored argument. It is so held by public opinion, the Church, and defendants. . . . The itinerancy is a contract, and neither of the two parties to the contract can assume that it is broken without the judicial tests that protect all contracts. . . . Bangs said that power to locate a man without his consent is very dangerous indeed. It is *too* dangerous, and will remain so until Annual Conferences are composed of angels.

The "Northern Christian Advocate," in an editorial of March 23, 1882, has the following:

But just here lies the chief objection to the law; it is practically—not intentionally, of course—an evasion, and, therefore, in effect a violation, of the Restrictive Rules. By lack of discrimination it avoids the necessity of strict punitive dealing with censurable grounds for a compulsory location, and is therefore liable to work great injustice to innocent men—just that injustice against which it is the purpose of the fifth Restrictive Rule to protect them. Unacceptability is not always a crime, yet in this law it is associated indiscriminately with innocent and censurable causes. It may be due to inefficiency, and inefficiency may be due to changed circumstances and conditions for which the preacher is not to blame, but the effect of which he may not realize; or it may be due to secularity, as the law assumes, and secularity in a Methodist minister, to the extent of destroying his usefulness, is hardly less than criminal. . . . It is said in behalf of the law that it would never be arbitrarily and indiscriminately enforced. Well, we do not believe that it was intended to be oppressive, but good intentions should have a better instrument for their execution. It is said that investigation of some sort will be made in every case. But, if investigation is important, why not secure it against those possible influences of passion and personal power which sometimes do control the votes of Conferences? The fact is, the law was *intended* to relieve the Conferences of the necessity of investigation, as the history of its enactment clearly shows; but how this intention is to be realized without the liability to grievous wrongs we are unable to see. We believe that the end sought by this law will yet be accomplished by some wiser provision.

"The National Repository," for August, 1880, then in editorial charge of Dr. Curry, contained the following protest by the editor:

This law indicates a wild disregard of certain principles which underlie all written laws, and over which legislatures have no right of action—for no assumption of such a body could be more dangerous than that its power is limited only by its own will. . . . This action practically ignores and denies the continuous right of a member of an Annual Conference to his position, and makes

him a simple "tenant at will," holding his place by sufferance, and liable at any time to be excluded without any judicial process, simply by the vote of the body.

Dr. James Porter was the author of a very able and convincing argument against the location law, which was published in "Zion's Herald" of Oct. 21, 1880. In it he raises the question of the standing a located preacher would have in the civil courts should he sue the Conference for damages. He writes:

> The moment a Conference shall inflict any penalties in an unconstitutional way they become liable for damages to be obtained by civil process. . . . Now, supposing that a Conference should apply the new rule to some superannuated preacher in just these circumstances, too feeble to preach, and too poor to pay for a paper, and living on his Conference dividend, and locate him without a trial, and thus bereave him of these benefits, would he not be justified in appealing to the courts for redress, and would they not sustain his appeal? We have no doubt of it.
>
> But it may be said, "No Conference will do so wicked a thing." So it would seem; and yet we knew of one just such case under the rule of 1836, and the poor old man lost his perquisites for one year, when the Conference restored him. So we might presume the Conference will do right in cases of immorality and imprudence, but no one would therefore think of abolishing our rules on these points. It is not best to give unlimited authority even to ministers. They are liable to become prejudiced and act unjustly. Had this rule been in force during the antislavery contest in 1836, some of our best men would have been hustled into the local ranks by a two thirds vote without ceremony.

There is one point strongly urged by those who favor this law, namely, that an Annual Conference is a body of associated *pastors;* that its members are not merely Christian ministers, but also pastors in pastoral charge of the churches of the Conference, and that they have the right and duty to exclude all who are unfitted to the pastoral office. The pastorate is an *office*, we are told, and a located preacher has no ground for complaint, for he still retains his *orders*, though deposed from the pastoral office. But let us not be deceived by words; we are contending about things, not words. There is no question of the duty of a Conference to exclude improper persons from the pastoral office, only let it be done fairly and according to law; but when the distinction is raised between *orders* and the *pastorate*, in the system of Methodism, in order to justify an

act which otherwise would be inexcusable, it has the appearance of insincerity and trifling. To depose from the ministry without trial and appeal, it is conceded, would be unfair and illegal, but it is both fair and legal summarily to exclude a Christian minister from pulpit and altar and pastorate provided he is allowed to retain two worthless bits of parchment. However it might be in other Church systems, it needs no argument that in the Methodist itinerancy a preacher deposed from the traveling ministry on a charge of inefficiency and secularity is practically deposed from the Christian ministry. Christ calls his ministers not only to preach the Gospel, but also to shepherd the flock, and their commission is to "take heed to all the flock over which the Holy Ghost hath made them overseers, and to feed the Church of God." Their call is a call to a life-work, and the pledges that an Annual Conference exacts of candidates at its doors are pledges to a life-office. At that door mutual promises are made, and a compact is established between the two parties; the candidate promises obedience and service in the itinerant ministry, and the Conference promises fellowship and title to all the rights and privileges of membership in the body. Having obtained his place, the minister holds it by his conduct, and not by the sufferance or charity of his fellow-members. On the other hand, having accepted his place, he cannot resign it of his own option; the Conference has a hold on him, and he can only withdraw by the permission of the body.

The principle that membership in a body is a property right is a well-established principle in civil affairs. A lawyer cannot be excluded from the bar except "for cause," and after trial. An officer in the army or navy cannot be dismissed from the service except by court-martial. A member of Congress or of the State legislatures can only be expelled by trial. The courts do not hesitate to reinstate members in the Stock Exchange, and in all similar associations, where it is proved that any injustice has been done in their expulsion. But this location law sanctions expulsion from an Annual Conference without a hearing, without investigation of any kind, save what may be permitted by the *grace* of the body, or by the mood of the moment; and there is no appeal.

The question raised by Dr. Porter of the standing of a

preacher located under this law in the civil courts suggests the larger question of the relation of those courts to the jurisprudence and discipline of ecclesiastical societies. This is a subject not generally understood by the clergy, but the churches have been so often before the courts on all styles of complaints that certain well-defined principles and conclusions have been established. Among these we may mention the following:

1. The standing of a religious society in the courts of the State is precisely the standing of any other benevolent association or voluntary organization. It is not known in its religious character, but appears simply as an incorporated association of individuals. The Supreme Court of the United States, through Justice Miller, delivered as follows:

> Religious organizations come before us in the same attitude as other voluntary associations for benevolent or charitable purposes, and their rights of property or of contract are equally under the protection of the law, and the actions of their members subject to its restraints.*

2. The courts, as a rule, refuse to interfere with questions of creeds or liturgy or discipline. "A free Church in a free State" is a fact in our land, and there is no interference from the civil authorities, provided that freedom does not jeopard public morals or the civil rights of its members. Mormonism is an assault upon good morals, and no plea of religious liberty is allowed to defend it. The civil courts assume the competency of the churches to interpret their own laws and discipline, and in cases of ecclesiastical trial the opinion of the Church courts as to their own jurisdiction has great weight. The Supreme Court of the United States, as follows:

> The decisions of ecclesiastical courts, like every other judicial tribunal, are final, as they are the best judges of what constitutes an offense against the word of God and the discipline of the Church. Any other than those courts must be incompetent judges of matters of faith, discipline, and doctrine; and civil courts, if they should be so unwise as to attempt to supervise their judgments on matters which come within their jurisdiction, would only involve themselves in a sea of uncertainty and doubt, which would do any thing but improve either religion or good morals.†

3. But it is fundamental in our land that the state is supreme in all matters that concern the civil rights of its citizens,

* 13 Wallace, 679. † *Ibid.*, 732.

and in harmony therewith the civil courts never hesitate to investigate any case where it is alleged that rights in property or in reputation have been unjustly assailed, whether the complaint be against a social club, a business corporation, or a religious society. When an ecclesiastical dispute comes before a civil tribunal, two questions are asked: First, Has an injury been done to civil rights? Second, Has that injury resulted from the Church court "transcending those limits fixed by the mutual assent of the parties interested?"* The phrase "civil rights" is somewhat vague, but the decisions have included under this term property, the emoluments of the ministerial office, a minister's exemption from jury duty and militia service, and his professional reputation and good name. Said Judges Lawrence and Sheldon, in the celebrated Cheney case in Illinois:

> We are clearly of the opinion that when a clergyman is in danger of being degraded from his office and losing his salary and means of livelihood by the action of a court unlawfully constituted—we are clearly of the opinion that he may come to the secular courts for protection. It would be the duty of such courts to examine the question of jurisdiction, and if they find that such tribunal . . . is exercising a merely usurped or arbitrary power, they should furnish such protection as the laws of the land will give.†

Judge Redfield, in editing this case for the "American Law Register," declared that no other decision than that quoted above could stand long in Illinois, "and will most certainly not be accepted as law anywhere else." "The organic law of the Church," says Judge Robertson, "is a fundamental contract, necessarily inviolable, for the protection of every member."‡ "The action of a Synod is final," says Chief-Justice Lowrie, "provided it is in accordance with its own laws."§

It is certain, then, that a civil court in examining the case of a minister located without trial or appeal would consider most thoroughly the question of the constitutionality of the location law, and the authority of the General Conference to pass such a law, or of the Annual Conference to execute it. It is a fact within easy proof that, in nearly every State in the Union,

* See these principles laid down in Austin and Searing, 16 N. Y., 112.

† 10 Am. Law Register, N. S., 295.

‡ 9 Am. Law Register, N. S., 211. § 41 Penna., 9.

the decrees of ecclesiastical assemblies have been reversed by the civil courts on evidence that such decrees were in conflict with the organic laws of the respective Churches. The question of the "Relation of American Civil Law to Ecclesiastical Jurisprudence" is elaborately discussed in the "Presbyterian Review" for July, 1880. The article, to which for further information on this subject the reader is referred, closes with these words:

> The Church constitution is a compact, a contract, a written and definite agreement between the general body and each individual member. To the enforcement of that contract, and its inviolability, the State stands pledged, as to the enforcement of all other contracts and agreements involving civil rights. Were it otherwise, constitutional churches would cease to exist, there being no power to enforce their original compact.*

It is not within the purview of this article to examine the location law on the ground of expediency or public policy, and consequently the discussion has been confined strictly to the legal aspects of the case; but it would not be difficult to show that in these respects there are practical objections to the law not less fatal than the legal ones.

ART. V.—PROFESSOR DRUMMOND'S "NATURAL LAW IN THE SPIRITUAL WORLD."

The explanation of the extraordinary success of this book is not far to seek. Its literary style charms the reader with its aphoristic terseness and its perfect lucidity. The expositions of scientific facts and principles are such as we can only expect from men who are masters of the English language as well as of science. Every page of the book has stamped upon it the strongly marked individuality of the writer. The working out of the subject is strikingly original. The book is no mere echo; it has grown up in the writer's own mind, and is the genuine outcome of his own independent thinking. One of its outstanding features is its suggestiveness; no one can read its pages without being forced to think for himself.

* "Presbyterian Review," July, 1880, p. 560.

But in addition to its literary merits, it displays a profound and delicate insight into the practical problems of the spiritual life which has given it a strong hold upon religious minds. The writer is possessed of higher gifts than theological learning or theological reasoning. He has the prophetic gift of intuition; he *sees* spiritual truths, and makes his readers feel that he sees them, and can be trusted as a guide. He exercises the strange power of magnetic fascination which is only possible to a man of genius. His readers are made aware that in his company they are in a moral atmosphere it is good for them to breathe.

There is also an adventitious reason which may be adduced to account partly for the rapid popularity which the book has won. Religious people who know what is being said by modern scientific and literary men, are somewhat alarmed at the assaults which have been made against their faith from the side of science. They are on the outlook for a defense of their faith which no advancement in science can ever successfully assail. Mr. Drummond has seemed to them to speak the word for which they have been waiting. He is a scientist himself, ready to accept whatever discoveries science may make, and he comes forward to turn this dreaded enemy of religion into an ally. Those who have been trembling for the foundations of their faith, have hailed with acclamation the new *eirenicon* between science and religion, in which science frankly accepted is believed to throw new light upon, and to add new strength to, the old truths of theology.

I propose in this paper to examine the teaching of this book in as far as it professes to establish an *eirenicon* between science and religion. The interests of religion demand that we should see whether the expectations which Mr. Drummond has raised are well founded; for if those who have taken refuge in this new theory afterward find that they have been leaning on a broken reed, they may be thrown into despair of finding any solution of the problems raised for religion by modern science.

My purpose is a limited one. It does not lie within its scope to dwell upon the great and many merits of the book. These I recognize fully, and I rejoice in the help which Mr. Drummond's teaching has ministered to many an inquiring spirit. Knowing the rare combination of gifts with which

Mr. Drummond has been endowed, I put no limit to my expectations of the brilliant work he may do in illustrating spiritual truth by science, or of the service he may render the Church of Christ in other directions; but I cannot help feeling that in "Natural Law in the Spiritual World" he has done himself injustice. He has entered on the discussion of speculative problems for which he is not fully equipped, and has thus hampered himself in the putting forth of his real strength. He is capable of doing better work than any in this book.

His proposed reconciliation between science and religion seems to me to end in failure, and I venture to set forth the reasons which have forced me to come to this conclusion.

Mr. Drummond's speculations have their origin in a conviction that the spiritual world, as much as the physical, is under the reign of law. He believes that this truth has been little insisted upon, even where it has received recognition at all. "Is it not plain," he asks (page ix), "that the one thing thinking men are waiting for is the introduction of law among the phenomena of the spiritual world?" Speaking for himself, he says (page x): "My spiritual world before was a chaos of facts; my theology, a Pythagorean system trying to make the best of phenomena apart from the idea of law. I make no charge against theology in general,—I speak of my own: and I say that I saw it to be in many essential respects centuries behind every department of science I knew. It was the one region still unpossessed by law. I saw then why men of science distrust theology; why those who have learned to look upon law as authority grow cold to it—it was the great exception." His view of theology is still further revealed in the following quotations: Page 21: "It has depended on authority rather than on law; and a new basis must be sought and found if it is to be presented to those with whom law alone is authority." Page 26: "The old ground of faith, authority, is given up; the new science has not yet taken its place." Page 30: "What then has science done to make theology tremble? It is its method. It is its system. It is its reign of law. It is its harmony and continuity."

I have no interest in upholding a theology which rests on external authority, be it the authority of a Church, or a creed, or a book; but I question whether theologians have been content with

a chaos of phenomena without seeking for the laws by which they are governed. Their whole aim as theologians is to discover such laws. Believing that there is a spiritual world with its own peculiar phenomena, and holding as much to the reign of law as men of science, they endeavor to find out the "constant order" which obtains among the phenomena of the higher sphere. A theologian like Schleiermacher would have been surprised to be told that he was "trying to make the best of [spiritual] phenomena apart from the idea of law." Though he did not set himself to unlock the secrets of the spiritual world by the principles of biology, he was not therefore reduced to base his theology on mere authority, or to leave it a chaos of phenomena without orderly relations or laws.* He turned to the phenomena of the religious consciousness, and, by the help of observation, reasoning, history, and revelation, discovered what he believed to be the "working sequence or constant order" in the spiritual world, just as the botanist turns to the phenomena of flowers, and by observation and reasoning discovers the laws that obtain in the vegetable world. The doctrines of any theological system are just the laws which are supposed to govern the spiritual world. The doctrine of regeneration Mr. Drummond singles out in the sequel as a great spiritual law. With that example of the reign of law in theology so prominently before him, he ought to have been put on his guard against accusing theology of *lawlessness*. He may plead that such a doctrine, however vouched for by internal observation and historical experience, only deserves the name of law when it is seen to be an extension of a purely biological principle, but that affords no ground for his implied assumption that theologians have kept "thinking men waiting" for "the introduction of law among the phenomena of the spiritual world." Their laws may have been wrong interpretations of the facts, but it is laws they have been in search of. This has been the quest of metaphysicians, moralists, and theologians in every age.

*On page 23 Mr. Drummond says: [The] "demand is, that all that concerns life and conduct shall be placed on a scientific basis. The only great attempt to meet that at present is Positivism." Kant, Hegel, Coleridge, Maurice, Newman, and F. W. Robertson have surely not been less scientific than the Positivists in their treatment of "life and conduct."

But I leave this preliminary misconception, and go on to a consideration of what our author believes to be his discovery, or new contribution to the vexed problem of the relation of science to religion. He has found the reign of lawlessness in the existing theology; he proposes to introduce the reign of law by extending the laws of biology into the spiritual sphere. Page 11: "The natural laws, as the law of continuity might well warn us, do not stop with the visible and then give place to a new set of laws bearing a strong similitude to them. The laws of the invisible are the same laws and projections of the natural, not supernatural." Page 35: "It is altogether unlikely that man spiritual should be violently separated in all the conditions of growth, development, and life from man physical. It is, indeed, difficult to conceive that one set of principles should guide the natural life, and these at a certain point—the very point where they are needed—suddenly give place to another set of principles altogether new and unrelated." Page 37: "There are very convincing reasons why the natural laws should be continuous through the spiritual sphere—not changed in any way to meet the new circumstances, but continuous as they stand." Pages 46, 47: "The conclusion finally is, that from the nature of law in general, and from the scope of the principle of continuity in particular, the laws of the natural life must be those of the spiritual life. . . . If the law of continuity is true, the only way to escape the conclusion that the laws of the natural life are the laws, or at least are laws, of the spiritual life, is to say that there is no spiritual life." Page 49: "If the spiritual nature in inception, growth, and development does not follow natural principles, let the true principles be stated and explained."

I do not intend to offer any criticism on Mr. Drummond's interpretation of the law of continuity. My objection to the doctrine laid down in these quotations lies in another direction. As far as I can gather from his book, Mr. Drummond does not seem to have realized the immense gulf that separates merely living beings from *self-conscious* beings. Until this point is cleared up, it is hopeless to estimate aright his position. He seems unaware that the gulf which separates self-conscious beings from merely living beings is even greater than that which separates the inorganic kingdom from the organic. I

belong to the old-fashioned people who believe that self-consciousness exists for the first time in man; but, wherever it may appear in the chain of being, an altogether new level is reached when it is possible for this affirmation to be made, "I am I." Mr. Drummond speaks somewhat depreciatingly of philosophy, but a deeper acquaintance with the methods and results of the science of the phenomena of self-consciousness would probably have saved him from propounding the theory that the spiritual*—and there must also be included here the intellectual and moral—phenomena of self-conscious beings are governed by the laws which regulate the merely physical life of beings destitute of self-consciousness. Of course the laws of biology apply to man's physical life, just as the laws of chemistry and mathematics have an application in a descendingly lower degree. But when self-consciousness is reached, new laws come in, for an absolutely new kind of life has been reached. Mr. Drummond says (page 43): "The biological laws are continuous for life." Yes, they are applicable to the physical life of man, but the life of self-consciousness is a totally different thing. It is strange that a quotation Mr. Drummond makes from Mr. Hutton did not lead him to recognize the distinction between the life of merely living beings—physical life—with which biology deals, and the life of self-consciousness, with which philosophy deals. Page 21: "Any attempt to merge the distinctive characteristics of a higher science in a lower—of chemical changes in mechanical—of physiological in chemical—*above all, of mental changes in physiological*†—is a neglect of the radical assumption of all science."

I do not overlook the fact that it is the religious (or, in the narrow sense of the word, the spiritual) life Mr. Drummond has in view when he speaks of the extension of the biological laws to the spiritual world. But he cannot well avoid (nor would he, I imagine, seek to avoid) the conclusion, that the biological laws govern the phenomena of the life of self-consciousness generally. Let us, then, test his theory. It is a law

* The word "spiritual" is often applied to the intellectual, moral, and religious life of man as opposed to his physical. Mr. Drummond applies it only to his religious life.

† The italics are mine.

of this inner world that in all knowledge or experience there is a reference to a self, or ego. Of what biological law is this the extension? There are certain well-known laws of association, for example: "Present actions, sensations, thoughts, or emotions tend to revive their like among previously recurring states."* Of what biological law is this an extension? Take the laws of memory, imagination, and reasoning—of what biological laws are these the extension?†

In man there is introduced, in addition to self-consciousness (if we do not include it in self-consciousness), another element which makes it hopeless to explain his higher nature on biological principles—I mean free-will. Unconscious living beings have their development determined for them; man, to a large extent, determines his own development. The introduction of this element marks a greater advance upon creatures ruled solely according to biological laws than the advance from the inorganic to the organic kingdom; and as the chemical and other lower laws are insufficient to explain vegetables and animals, so the biological laws are insufficient to explain beings endowed with free-will. Biological laws are not transgressed; higher laws control them. This is the meaning of the misunderstood quotation from Bushnell (page 13): "God has, in fact, erected another and higher system, that of spiritual being and government, for which nature exists; a system not under the law of cause and effect, but ruled and marshaled under other kinds of laws." Bushnell does not deny the reign of law, as Mr. Drummond supposes. His teaching in these words simply amounts to this, that beings who are themselves causes,

* Bain's "Mental and Moral Science," p. 127.

† Mr. Drummond himself appears to be aware that there is something in man outside the scope of the biological laws. "The application of natural law to the spiritual world has decided and necessary limits."—Page 16. "This does not exclude, observe, the possibility of there being new laws in addition within the natural sphere."—Page 46. "That there are higher energies, so to speak, in the spiritual world, is, of course, to be affirmed."—Page 48. "We have not denied that there may be new laws."—Page 49. But these admissions lead to nothing. After making them the writer makes this remark (page) 51: "It is clear that we can only express the spiritual laws in language borrowed from the visible universe. Being dependent for our vocabulary on images, if an altogether new and foreign set of laws existed in the spiritual world, they could never take shape as definite ideas from mere want of words." From what image in the visible universe does the idea of self-consciousness come?

who determine to a large extent their own development, must be ruled by higher laws than beings which have their development determined for them by the operation of the ordinary law of cause and effect.

Let me ask, Can the laws of biology explain to me the facts of my moral nature? The consciousness of being under the authority of the categorical imperative, the power of choosing the right and shunning the wrong, the sense of responsibility to a lawgiver, the feeling of remorse—are these phenomena better explained by Herbert Spencer's "Principles of Biology" than by an Augustine, a Schleiermacher, or a Newman, whose theology is assumed to be vitiated by the non-recognition of law in the spiritual world? Theologians have wisely refrained from attempting to explain man's moral nature without taking into account free-will and the new laws to which it gives rise. Such an explanation would be another example of the play of Hamlet with Hamlet left out.

This ignoring by Mr. Drummond of the fundamental distinction between beings destitute of free-will and beings possessed of free-will, has affected his treatment of several questions he discusses. Once, indeed, the distinction rises clearly before him, only, however, to be practically set aside. Page 304: "It must occur to one on reaching this point, that a new element here comes in which compels us, for the moment, to part company with zoology. That element is the conscious power of choice. The animal in following the type is blind." Mr. Drummond sees that a Christian with an ideal before him, and a power to conform to it, is in a different position from a bird that is being unconsciously conformed to its type by a power outside of itself. Yet he is led astray by his determination to apply biological laws where they are inapplicable, and we find him leaving his truer point of sight and asking (page 307): "Can the protoplasm *conform itself* to its type? Can the embryo *fashion itself?* Is conformity to type produced by the matter *or by the life*, by the protoplasm or by the type? . . . Conformity to type, therefore, is secured by the type."

In his chapter on Environment, Mr. Drummond says (page 254): "These two factors [heredity and environment] are responsible for making all living organisms what they are. When a naturalist attempts to unfold the life-history of any animal, he

proceeds precisely on these same lines. Biography is really a branch of natural history; and the biographer who discusses his hero as the resultant of these two tendencies, follows the scientific method as rigidly as Mr. Darwin in studying 'Animals and Plants under Domestication.'" There is much truth in all that is said about heredity and environment. Only in representing the life of a hero as the resultant of these two tendencies Mr. Drummond omits an element more important than either—the power the hero possesses to "regulate" or "make" his environment. He recognizes the existence of this element in a passing phrase. Had he pondered more fully the significance of this element, it might have occurred to him that beings who have the power of making their own environment are not altogether under the sway of those biological laws which regulate the development of beings whose environment is made for them.

In his chapter on Growth—in my estimation the most beautiful chapter in the book—he says (page 127): "The soul grows as the lily grows, without trying, without fretting, without ever thinking." A statement like that does no harm as part of a popular exposition: its very exaggeration may the better teach the lesson of the necessity of resting from over-anxiety in the spiritual life. But then the statement must be considered in the light of Mr. Drummond's theory, that the biological laws of development are not merely analogous to, but absolutely identical with, the laws according to which spiritual development is regulated. Such a theory simply passes over the very gist of the problem of spiritual growth. The plant cannot choose its conditions, cannot choose to let the conditions influence it, but the man has, to some extent, to choose his conditions, or at least has to choose how he will let them influence him. Once you have allowed for this power of choice—this self-determining power of the conscious person who stands under the authority of moral law—you may trace analogies between biological growth and spiritual, but then this self-determining power is the prime element in the problem. It is *I* who have to put myself into relation with the conditions of growth. If that consideration is neglected, we have, as I have said, the play of Hamlet with the part of Hamlet left out.

In what I have said about self-consciousness and free-will I

have been trying to put a barrier to Mr. Drummond's theory *in limine*. I will complete my consideration of his theory by examining whether he has succeeded in throwing any light upon the problems of the spiritual world by the application of the laws of biology, for speculative objections would go to the wall if it were proved that these laws were actually the laws of spiritual life.

Mr. Drummond evidently looks upon his theory as specially valuable in giving a proof from the side of science for the doctrine of regeneration, and possibly many of his readers have been attracted by his speculations for a similar reason. If his theory really gives an irrefragable (a scientifically irrefragable) proof of this doctrine, it will be necessary to reconsider the *a priori* objections I have stated; but if it leaves this doctrine where it found it, then I shall have the more confidence that these objections are valid.

Let us then examine what Mr. Drummond has to say about biogenesis. After referring to the failure of modern science to overturn the old dictum—*omne vivum ex vivo*—he says (page 64): "Two great schools here also (in religion) have defended exactly opposite views—one, that the spiritual life in man can only come from pre-existing life; the other, that it can spontaneously generate itself. . . . One small school has persistently maintained the doctrine of biogenesis. Another, larger and with greater pretension to philosophic form, has defended spontaneous generation." Page 65: "[The spiritual man] is a new creation born from above. As well expect a hay infusion to become gradually more and more living until in course of the process it reached vitality, as expect a man by becoming better and better to attain the eternal life." Page 74: "Life, that is to say, depends upon contact with life. It cannot spring up of itself. There is no spontaneous generation in religion any more than in nature. Christ is the source of life in the spiritual world." Page 93: "A new theology has laughed at the doctrine of conversion. Sudden conversion, especially, has been ridiculed as untrue to philosophy and impossible to human nature. . . . But we find that this old theology is scientific." Page 71: "The passage from the natural world to the spiritual world is hermetically sealed on the natural side. The door from the inorganic to the organic is shut,

no mineral can open it; so the door from the natural to the spiritual is shut, and no man can open it."

Lest my criticism of these extracts should be misunderstood, I wish to say at the outset that I am at one with Mr. Drummond in believing that life can only come from above—from the Lord of life. Not only do I believe that God "reserved a point at the genesis of life for his direct appearing," but that he works immanently in every living creature throughout its whole life. Not only do I believe that the life of Christ in the soul comes from, and is continually sustained by, the Spirit of God, but also that every action of the intellectual life, every inspiration of genius, every upward effort, every aspiration after righteousness—all that Mr. Drummond designates as mere morality—has its origin in that eternal Word by whom all things were made.

So much by way of preliminary explanation. What support then does the doctrine of regeneration derive from modern biological science? Tyndall and Huxley confess that as far as the evidence yet goes, the old dictum holds, *omne vivum ex vivo.* What do they mean? Do they mean that life when it first appeared had its origin in God, the Lord of life? No, they simply mean that every living creature has been produced by an antecedent living creature of the same kind. If they are pushed back to the absolutely first appearance of life, they will say that its appearance is a mystery about which they can give no explanation. They will refuse to say that it comes from God, or from a great principle of life distinct from the universe.

Mr. Drummond gives an unwarrantable meaning to the old phrase, *omne vivum ex vivo.* He makes it mean that life at its first genesis in the universe had its origin in God—a meaning which would be utterly disclaimed by Tyndall and Huxley. Any conclusion built on such an interpretation of the phrase is resting in the air; but it is on this interpretation that Mr. Drummond's speculations on spiritual biogenesis are built. It is true that life at its genesis comes from the Lord of life, but this conclusion is guaranteed not by the modern biology of Huxley and Spencer, but by philosophy.

Omne vivum ex vivo, as I have already said, means for the modern biologists whom Mr. Drummond quotes; that every

living creature has been produced by an antecedent living creature. If Mr. Drummond wishes to give the phrase another meaning, he must leave modern biology, and in leaving biology he has to give up his theory that the laws of the natural life are the laws of the spiritual life.

Is Mr. Drummond prepared to apply the biological law *omne vivum ex vivo*, as modern geologists interpret it, to the spiritual world? I imagine not. Such conclusions as these would follow from its application—that every spiritual man has been produced by an antecedent spiritual man, that the children of spiritual parents are necessarily, by the fact of their birth, spiritual,* that the point where the direct action of God set the process of spiritual life agoing cannot now be discovered, and that for any thing we know there may be no supernatural cause of spiritual life at all.†

Mr. Drummond appeals to biological science in favor of the doctrine of conversion. Biological science declares (according to Mr. Drummond himself) that dead matter has never been known to issue in life. If, then, that law is absolute, dead souls can never rise into spiritual life. "As well expect a hay infusion to become gradually more and more living, until, in course of the process, it reached vitality, as expect a man dead in trespasses and sins to become spiritually alive." Biology, if it had any right (as it has not) to pronounce an opinion on the subject, would force us to the conclusion that no man has a chance of gaining spiritual life unless he has received it from his parents, any more than an infusion of hay has a chance of developing physical life. As far as the doctrine of conversion

* In his chapter on Environment, Mr. Drummond attempts to show that the biological law of environment is a law of the spiritual life. If the law of continuity is not to be violated (to turn his own argument against himself), how can he escape from the conclusion that the law of heredity, which he mentions along with that of environment as accounting for development, is also a law of the spiritual life?

† If, in his chapter on Biogenesis, Mr. Drummond only means to show, by way of illustration, that as dead matter cannot of itself give rise to life, an unregenerate man cannot make himself spiritually alive, my criticism may appear to interpret him unwarrantably *au pied de la lettre*. But then, if this is all that he means to maintain, what becomes of his contention that the biological laws are the laws of the spiritual life? This is the assumption that underlies his teaching in the chapter on Biogenesis, and it is in view of this assumption that I have shaped my criticism.

is concerned, there would really have been more support for it in biology if the theory of spontaneous generation could have been proved.

Modern biology has, after all, little light to throw upon the doctrines of regeneration and conversion. The supposed enemy of religion has not turned out to be its friend, at least as far as this new theory is concerned.

I am tempted to linger a little longer over Mr. Drummond's teaching upon biogenesis, though my main criticism upon its relation to his general theory of the identity of the biological and spiritual laws has been given.

He departs somewhat from ordinarily accepted teaching in his views upon spiritual biogenesis, but this departure is, in my opinion, a departure from true doctrine. His account of the "natural man" seems to me to be overdrawn, and the Scripture expressions—figurative expressions—which are quoted to substantiate this account are pressed upon the reader with an unwarrantable adherence to the mere letter. If he had been drawing a contrast between man in his physical life and man in the life of self-consciousness, intelligence, and spiritual freedom, I should have little objection to make to his statements, but this is not the contrast he has in view. He is contrasting a natural man, who has attained moral beauty, and a man who is definitely laid hold of by the life of Christ. Between two such men he teaches us that there is a greater gulf than between the inorganic world and the organic. But I must quote some sentences. Page 380: "What is the essential difference between the Christian and the not-a-Christian, between the spiritual beauty and the moral beauty? It is the distinction between the organic and the inorganic." Page 375: "In scarcely a single instance is the gravity of the distinction more than dimly apprehended." Page 382: "Man is a moral animal, and can and ought to arrive at great natural beauty of character. But this is simply to obey the law of his nature—the law of his flesh." Page 383: "His morality is mere crystallization." Page 397: "Two kingdoms at the present time are known to science—the inorganic and the organic. It (spiritual life) does not belong to the inorganic kingdom, because it lives. It does not belong to the organic kingdom, because it is endowed with a kind of life infinitely removed from either

the vegetal or animal. There being no kingdom known to science which can contain it, we must construct one—that kingdom is the *kingdom of God.*" Page 299: "However active the intellectual or moral life may be, from the point of view of this other life it is dead." Page 82: "Compared with the difference between the natural and the spiritual, the gulf which divides the organic from the inorganic is a hair's-breadth." *

The doctrine contained in these extracts seems to me to be true to the teaching neither of experience nor of Scripture. I, of course, admit the gulf that separates man in his physical nature from man in his spiritual, and I admit the gulf that separates a man whose morality is founded on mere habit or self-interest from the man whose morality springs from spiritual life, but I would hesitate to say that spiritual life had nothing to do with "moral beauty," "moral uprightness," and "honorableness." Moreover, if the natural man were as completely dead to the spiritual world as a stone is to the organic world, if he were as "hermetically sealed" from the spiritual world as a stone is from the organic, to use Mr. Drummond's own phrase, I can no longer see any ground upon which I can appeal to him on behalf of the spiritual world. He is dead to it, cannot understand what passes there, can have no conceivable interest in it. I must let him alone till this spiritual life has somehow got hold of him.†

But the natural man is not dead in that sense. He has capacities for living in the spiritual world. He has aspirations toward it. He knows something about it. He is dead only figuratively, as Mr. Drummond in other parts of his book has to admit. His whole chapter on Degeneration is one continued

* Mr. Drummond evidently reckons an agnostic like Herbert Spencer, or a positivist like Frederick Harrison, among the natural men. Then there is less difference between a jelly fish and Frederick Harrison than between Frederick Harrison and the lowest type of the spiritual man. Mr. Drummond would probably not shrink from saying so.

† In comparing the new birth to the passage from the inorganic to the organic kingdom, Mr. Drummond overlooks the fact that the "natural man," whatever influence the Spirit of God may exercise, has himself to make the passage. His free-will is a necessary element in regeneration.

To have a proper analogy for the passage of a soul from spiritual death to life, Mr. Drummond should have been able to point to a stone suddenly turning into a vegetable or an animal.

refutation of his theory that the natural man is as dead to the spiritual world as a stone is to the organic. If the natural man has no spiritual life, how can it be taken from him? Page 110: "Degeneration in the spiritual sphere involves primarily the impairing of the faculties of salvation, and ultimately the loss of them. It really means that the very soul itself becomes piecemeal destroyed, until the very capacity for God and righteousness is gone." Page 108: "God has discovered to us another principle which will stop this drifting process in the soul, steer it round, and make it drift the other way. This is the active saving principle, or salvation." Now what corresponds to all this in the stone? Is there an active principle drawing it into the organic kingdom which it can lay hold of and so enter, or which it can neglect and so sink back into the inorganic kingdom? Again, in the chapter on Semi-parasitism, Mr. Drummond says (page 336): "One by one the spiritual faculties droop and die; one by one, from lack of exercise, the muscles of the soul grow weak and flaccid; one by one the moral activities cease. So from him that hath not is taken away that which he hath, and after a few years of parasitism there is nothing left to save." If all this can go on in the natural man, surely he is not as hermetically sealed from the spiritual world as the stone is from the organic.

But leaving this question of the origin of spiritual life, let us see whether Mr. Drummond is more successful elsewhere in buttressing the Christian faith by the help of biology. He believes that from the side of biology he can strengthen the proof for the doctrine of immortality, or I should rather say, that believing the ordinary philosophical proofs to be nearly valueless, he substitutes in their place a new biological proof. Page 239: "The question of a future life is a biological question. . . . The whole confusion around the doctrine of eternal life has arisen from making it a question of philosophy. . . . For any question as to the soul's life we must appeal to life-science." Page 226: "The theory of Christianity has only to be fairly stated to make manifest its thorough independence of all the usual speculations on immortality. The theory is not that thought, volition, or emotion as such are to survive the grave. The difficulty of holding a doctrine in this form, in spite of what has been advanced to the contrary—in spite of

the hopes and wishes of mankind—in spite of all the scientific and philosophical attempts to make it tenable, is still profound." In his criticism of philosophical speculations on immortality, Mr. Drummond sails dangerously near materialism,* and it will be found on examination that his own speculations are weighted with a profounder "difficulty" than those of the philosophers. His speculations are based on a quotation from Herbert Spencer about the nature of a biologically perfect life. Page 215: "Uninterrupted correspondence with environment is eternal life according to science. 'This is life eternal,' said Christ, 'that they may know thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent.' . . . To correspond with God is to correspond with a perfect environment." Pages 228–229: "Now that which determines the correspondence of the spiritual organism [with the perfect environment God] is a principle of spiritual life. . . . With the new Spirit, the filial correspondence, he (the spiritual man) knows the Father, and this is life eternal." Pages 230: "Here at last is a correspondence which will never cease. Its powers in bridging the grave have been tried. . . . In short, this is a correspondence which at once satisfies the demands of science and religion. . . . Here is a relation established with eternity. The passing years lay no limiting hand on it. Corruption injures it not. It survives death. It, and it only, will stretch beyond the grave and be found inviolate,

> "'When the moon is old,
> And the stars are cold,
> And the books of the judgment day unfold.'"

The reader naturally imagines when he comes to this passage that he is being presented with a new proof for the existence of a future life, and the writer himself seems for the moment to be of the same opinion. Yet what does this whole chapter amount to? It is simply an answer to the question (page 205): "Is the Christian conception of eternal life scien-

* "Emotion, volition, thought itself, are functions of the brain." Mr. Drummond does not absolutely adopt that opinion, but he shows little appreciation of what its truth would involve. If volition and thought are functions of the brain, then there is no possibility of escaping the conclusion that the religious experience of communion with God is a "function of the brain," and that it "ceases with the dissolution of the material fabric."

tific?" or (for this is the real meaning of Mr. Drummond's question), is the idea of eternal life conceivable? Mr. Drummond must be admitted to have established that it is conceivable—but then no one will seriously dispute the question with him.

There was no need of Herbert Spencer's definitions of life and perfect life to make out that the idea of one in whom the life of Christ exists, being in perfect correspondence with a perfect environment, God, can be entertained as an idea. This is not the burning question about the future life. It is rather this, Is such an eternal life possible not only in conception, but in fact? Mr. Drummond has once at least this distinction before his mind (page 221): "And yet we are still a great way off; to establish a communication with the Eternal is not to secure eternal life. It must be assumed that the communication could be sustained.* And to assume this would be to try the question. So that we have still to prove eternal life. But let it be again repeated, we are not here seeking proofs. We are seeking light. We are merely reconnoitering from the farthest promontory of science, if so be that through the haze we may discern the outline of a distant coast and come to some conclusion as to the possibility of landing."

In spite of all the hopes Mr. Drummond excites in this chapter, he proves only what needed no proof—that eternal life is thinkable; for what needs proof—that eternal life will be a fact—he has no argument whatever to offer.† He gives us absolutely no ground from the side of science or speculation for warding off the belief that even the spiritual life will "cease with the dissolution of the material fabric"—that the "changes in the physical state of the environment" will bring death to the spiritual man as well as to the natural. He has stripped from us the arguments, metaphysical and ethical, on

* Here again there may be ambiguity. Before eternal life is proved, it must be proved that the sustaining of this communication is possible, not only in conception but in fact. I am not quite sure whether Mr. Drummond refers here to possibility in fact or possibility in conception.

† On p. 234 he refers to the historical fact of Christ's resurrection as the true argument for Christian immortality. But, of course, that is not an argument from biological science which he undertook to supply. That short paragraph of six lines, where he refers to the resurrection, contains more proof than all the rest of the chapter.

which we have been wont to rely, and sent us forth naked to shiver in the wintry atmosphere of materialism.*

I might go further with my criticism of Mr. Drummond's attempts to find new proofs for the doctrines of theology in biological science, but this would unduly extend my paper.

The real value of this book lies not in his attempted proof of the theory that the laws of natural life are the laws of spiritual life, but in its "freshening of the theological air with natural facts and illustrations." The author thinks otherwise. He considers that his work has been of an altogether different kind than that of drawing analogies. But what really does he give us in most of his chapters but original and beautiful analogies? He attempts to make out a distinction between his own work in this book and what has previously been done by those who have drawn upon the outward world for analogies with the spiritual, by distinguishing analogies of phenomena and analogies of law. Page viii: "It was not, I repeat, that new and detailed analogies of *phenomena* † rose into view." Page ix: "That the phenomena of the spiritual world are in analogy with the phenomena of the natural world requires no restatement." His advances consist, he believes, in pointing out analogies between the *laws*, not merely the phenomena, of the natural world and the spiritual; or rather in pointing out the identity of these laws. I say nothing on the many questions that might be raised in connection with Mr. Drummond's use of the words "law," "analogy," "phenomenon." I content myself with pointing out that whatever he may have thought he was doing, and whatever meaning he may have had in his mind in drawing the distinction between analogies of phenomena and analogies of laws, he has certainly got no farther in his book than drawing analogies. In his chapter on Growth, he does not prove that the law of biological is the law

* Of course I do not mean for a moment to imply that Mr. Drummond has any sympathy with materialism. I only mean that his reasoning, when pressed to its logical outcome, lands him in dangerous company.

† There can be no phenomenon into the constitution of which there do not enter orderly relations or laws. It is impossible to make a sharp distinction between analogies of phenomena and analogies of laws. A distinction can be drawn between laws which have a limited application and laws which have a wide application.

of spiritual development, he only proves that there are analogies between the two kinds of development. There can be no identity while the spiritual man has the power of choosing what conditions of growth he will allow to influence him. Nor in his chapters (for example) on Environment and Conformity to Type does he accomplish any thing essentially different from what is done by any man who takes a parable from nature. He may develop the illustration more fully than is usually done by writers who "freshen the theological air with natural facts and illustrations:" but that is really the only difference. In his admirable chapter on Semi-parasitism, he thus enunciates the spiritual principle for the illustration of which he appeals to the biological world: "Any principle which secures the safety of the individual without personal effort or the vital exercise of faculty is disastrous to moral character." I am not sure that even Mr. Drummond would contend that there is more than "analogy" between this spiritual principle and what he finds in the hermit crab, or that he is doing any thing essentially different from what Dr. Bushnell has done in his chapter in "The New Life," entitled "The Capacity of Religion Extirpated by Disuse." If he should contend for identity, then at once he is confronted with questions he will find it difficult to answer satisfactorily. How could there be identity when account must be taken of such words as these: "safety," "personal effort," "moral character?"

Though Mr. Drummond has failed in effecting a new reconciliation of science and religion by means of "Natural Law in the Spiritual World," his book gives splendid promise of future work. The discussion of the philosophical questions involved in any attempt at such a reconciliation is not in the line of his real strength. These speculative problems are certain to bring out the weak side of his thinking. Outside of that region he may be looked to for work that will prove him to be one of the most fascinating and suggestive religious teachers of the latter half of the nineteenth century.

Art. VI.—RELIGIOUS THOUGHT IN BRITAIN.

Movements of Religious Thought in Britain During the Nineteenth Century. St. Giles's Lectures. By John Tulloch, D.D., LL.D., Senior Principal in the University of St. Andrews. 12mo, pp. 338. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

The fact assumed in the title-page, of which the above is a transcript, and also in the book to which it is attached, none will deny. There have certainly been "movements of religious thought" during the current century, not only in Britain, but also every-where else in all the domains of Protestantism. That fact, too, is a cause for rejoicing rather than for regret and alarm, since almost any kind of religious activity is better than dead slumber, and unchanging because unthinking unanimity. It may also be said that our age has been and continues to be a period of almost unprecedented mental activity in respect to religious questions, with the inevitable attendant changes and upheavals of prescriptive opinions. Nor will that be deprecated except by such as prefer authority to reason, and who would rather be in error than to come to the truth by a new and a formerly unused way. But whether welcomed or deprecated the "movements" are upon us, and the conflicts that they occasion must be accepted and fought out by the advocates of the truth, or else the interests of religion must be sacrificed to the pusillanimity of its appointed guardians. There are no doubt changes in the prevalent thinking of our times, as to both the methods and the conclusions reached, as compared with those of former times. Not a few notions that were once generally accepted without question are now given up as not proved and untenable, and even the form of the evidences of Christianity has been widely changed. Many intelligent Christians, while retaining the fullest confidence in the divinity of their religion, are also quite ready to give up many things once supposed to constitute integral parts of Christian truth, but which have ceased to command respect for lack of any sure basis in either Scripture or reason. The forms of biblical and theological thinking are not now the same that they were a hundred years ago; and the most steadfast believers, as well as the best instructed Christian scholars, have been led to accept largely modified views of Christian truth and doctrine. And these

changes, which have quietly forced themselves upon the convictions of the learned, must inevitably in time possess the minds of the uneducated also. The transition is inevitable, and it is for our leaders of the Christian thought of the age to say whether it shall be made under the direction of the friends of religion or of that of its enemies.

It is also desirable that the course of these changes should be closely observed, their causes noted, and their tendencies understood. It is needful to distinguish the great flood of opinions that is sweeping down into broader seas from the side current and eddies, that often seem to be moving in the contrary direction. The volume before us is designed to be a contribution to that purpose, not, however, as presenting a survey of the whole field, but as noting and describing certain partial but important and distinctive points. It is made up of eight lectures, the St. Giles course for 1885, in which, on account of their limited extent, only parts of the great theme taken in hand could be adequately discussed. And since, in selecting parts from a mass, each one's own affinities will direct him—for it usually happens that in all explorations and investigations each one finds what he looks for—so here, no doubt, we have the results of the lecturer's own mental and spiritual appetencies. Principal Tulloch's relations to current religious discussions are well understood, and it is known that he differs at not a few points from the traditional views of the Kirk of Scotland, and that his methods of theologizing are not the same with those of the great lights among his predecessors. A proper recognition of his mental and spiritual stand-point is necessary in order to a just estimate of his views, as indicated in these lectures; and in determining the value of his findings due allowance must be made for his intellectual aberrations, and the resultant parallaxes of his observations. This is due to himself as well as to the cause of truth, for certainly he will not pretend to exemption from the influences which every-where go to fashion men's opinions. In undertaking as he does to present a survey of the course of religious thought in the United Kingdom during the first sixty years of the current century, his mind quite naturally turns to those writers whose utterances have entered the most largely and effectively into his own thinkings and feelings, just as some other man of other thoughts and affinities would

have chosen other lines of discussion, and would have found another class of objects in his mental excursion. It should also be noticed that it is not pretended that these lectures are supposed to cover the whole field that they traverse; they treat only of "movements," some of many, and by no means all that were going forward at the same time and place. The lecturer is not therefore to be called to account for the omission of certain great names, or the non-recognition of this and that religious movement of the times which he discusses, with the underlying and inspiring "thought" in each case; he has selected and presented only those that for obvious reasons appeared to him the best to deserve his consideration, and at the close he confesses that his work was only "desultory and imperfect." In what is here given there is, no doubt, much valuable truth, but mixed through and through with manifest misconceptions and faulty deductions; and although it is not on the whole a truthful exhibit of the subject taken in hand, it nevertheless abounds with good and fruitful suggestions, and its perusal will prove, to any who may be capable of using it to advantage, provocative of thought, and the occasion of broader and more adequate conceptions of the subjects discussed.

The lecturer's own views and opinions are indicated chiefly by his dissents, though positive statements are not altogether wanting. Though a high functionary of, and charged with weighty responsibilities in, the Kirk of Scotland, whose all-comprehending charter and constitution are the Westminster Confession, it is plain that he is not in harmony with the distinctive teachings of those venerable authorities—that in no proper sense of the term is he a Calvinist. His just estimate of Coleridge's spiritual philosophy speaks well for his appreciation of certain great fundamental truths in religion, and his approval of the suggestions of that philosopher respecting certain venerable but inadequate and misleading methods of biblical interpretation and theological conceptions entitle his further suggestion to a not unfavorable consideration. What he says about the Babel utterances of what he terms the "early Oriel school" (because the chief characters named were of Oriel College, Oxford), with Whately and Arnold and Blanco White, and a little later Bishops Hampden and Thirlwall and Dean

Milman, indicates his sympathy toward any form of thought outside of the traditional lines, rather than any definite trend of his own thinking. The Oxford Tractarian movement, though in its whole doctrinal bearing directly opposed to his own mental drift, is greeted with a good word, especially for its "churchly" tendency; for while our author is very "broad" in his ecclesiasticism, he is also very "high," and quite intolerant of whatever opposes his special notions of churchhood. He accordingly says, most significantly, respecting the "Oxford or Anglo-Catholic" movement: "It is much to have brought home to the hearts of Christian people the reality of the *great spiritual society*, extending through all Christian ages, living by its own truth and life, and having its own laws and rites and usages." That sentence is evidently of the nature of a confession of the faith of the author respecting the nature of the Church, in which he seems to be substantially in agreement with Anglican and Anglo-American High-Churchmen; and certain recent givings-out from high Presbyterian sources seem to indicate the revival of a similar sentiment—we will not call it an opinion—among the Presbyterians of this country. In this conception of "the Church," its spirituality consists neither in the divine presence, nor yet in the inward religious life of its members, but simply that it is a corporation within the body politic, to which pertain certain ghostly functions, co-ordinated with the temporal affairs of the State. This is altogether another thing than the "congregation of faithful men" indicated in one of the Thirty-nine Articles (Article XIII of the Methodist Episcopal Church), nor yet is it the great aggregate of believers of "every nation, kindred, and tongue under heaven" —souls conjoined in Christ by spiritual regeneration—so constituting "the Holy Catholic Church." It is a state institution, "an estate of the realm," existing apart from the doctrines that it teaches, or the spiritual life and character of both its ministrants and members. This is the only true churchmanship—so we are to believe—while all beyond is "narrow" and "fanatical sectarianism." This view of the subject—in which the lecturer may feel an interest not unlike that of Demetrius in the worship of Diana, and for the same cause—evidently adds sharpness to his occasional references to the "Evangelicals" of the Church of England, of whom he never speaks without evident manifes-

tations of dislike mingled with contempt. Because with them personal religious experience is the great and distinguishing fact in the Christian life, and the Church is primarily a body of spiritually regenerated persons, they must be written down as simply a company of pestilent fanatics. And in all lands all who elevate the spiritual above the formal in Church life, and all dissenters of every name, belong to this fanatical class.

The local "movements" with the Church of Scotland, to which Lecture IV is devoted, were probably more interesting to the lecturer than they will prove to be to his readers generally. They are curious enough, and instructive as illustrations of the mental actions of individual solitary thinkers, but they do not appear to have exerted any marked influence on the general course of the religious thinking of the times. The doctrine of Calvinian predestination has been the distinctive feature of Scotch divinity, and yet it has held its place in spite of the earnest protests of not a few of the best people of the North kingdom. Among those who have so protested in later times Thomas Erskine and John M'Leod Campbell are no doubt conspicuous examples; but, as has often been the case in similar instances, the rebound from high Calvinism carried them into other and equally dangerous fallacies, which, indeed, led to certain local agitations, and very limited ecclesiastical disruptions; but they soon subsided without making any real additions to the religious and theological thinking of the age. And what was the case with the agitations originated by Erskine and Campbell was still more so in that with which the name of Edward Irving is identified. Irving burst like a meteor on the theological sky, and blazed luridly for a brief season, and then, like a meteor, disappeared in darkness—all the more dense because of the momentary glare; though the trail of its brightness continued to flicker for a time in the ministry of Dr. John Cummings. About the only permanent result of that special school of thought, with its accompanying methods of biblical interpretation, is its demonstration of both its incorrectness and its disastrous influences and results in those who become its subjects. As a kind of sunset glow of the final decay of Millenarianism, the Irving-Cummings "movement" may be set down as one of the way-marks in the progress of religious thought.

Only the lecturer's peculiar notions of what constitutes a religious movement can have permitted him to enroll such names as those of Thomas Carlyle and John Stuart Mill among those of the leaders of the religious thought of their times, for it would be no less improper to assign the same position to Thomas Paine and Robert Ingersoll for their respective generations. For, in respect to his creed, Paine was less a disbeliever than Carlyle; and as to intensity of hatred, not only of Christianity but of God, even as revealed in nature, Mill, as compared with Ingersoll, is a very Beelzebub along-side of a peeping demon. The two lectures (V and VI) devoted severally to these two characters are quite outside of the proper subject under consideration, for, while neither of them held any connection with any branch of the Church, so neither Carlyle nor Mill has impressed his own ideas or thinkings upon the current thought of Christendom. Whatever tendencies there were in the Church life of their day with which their social philosophy more or less nearly coincided received both their impulses and their direction from other and much safer sources. And the same is equally true in respect to the influence of George H. Lewes, and the still greater power of George Eliot—his wife, who was not his wife—both of whom were sufficiently hostile to religion, but neither of them seems to have made any considerable impression on the religious thought of the age. They who measure the "movements of religious thought" by what is said on the subject by skeptical scientists and godless novelists and others may well conclude that the old orthodoxy has become hopelessly effete, and that the Bible has been effectually dethroned, and is no longer even a respectable authority. But such persons, while busying themselves with these eccentricities of quasi-religious thinkings, and failing to duly estimate the force of the steady current of the great flood of Christian thought, both biblical and theological, are not unlike those who, standing on the banks of a broad river, mistake the eddies along the shore for the real course of the flood. If Principal Tulloch is of that number, "the more's the pity."

The last two lectures of the volume deal with Maurice, Kingsley, and F. W. Robertson, to which trio the lecturer adds the comparatively unknown name and account of Bishop Ewing, of the Scotch Episcopal Church. Maurice was, indeed, a

thinker, but scarcely a leader of religious thought; for which, indeed, his conservatism—not to say his timidity—his want of self-assertion, and the narrowness of his ecclesiasticism effectually disqualified him. While as a man he may be esteemed, perhaps almost admired, he was still wholly deficient as to nearly every quality that characterizes the natural born leader, whether of thought or of action. Kingsley, on the contrary, was a power, by virtue of the breezy and wholesome vitality of his spirit; and no doubt his writings have had some influence upon the social philosophy of the times, toward which, much more than to the properly religious life, his "muscular Christianity" extended its influence. Robertson was distinctively and intensely—perhaps also morbidly—religious; and because he has had a following he must be accepted, according to his measure, as the head of a school of religious thought, or, more properly, of pietistic sentiment. But, because of the indefiniteness of his conceptions, and the lack of dogmatic corporeity in his statements, his utterances can scarcely continue to be effective without the power of the personal presence of their author. His sermons have been printed and very widely read and admired by thousands, but just why? Who can give a satisfactory answer to himself? They have, no doubt, unsettled the religious conviction of not a few, and also stirred up temporary gusts of feeling; but only to a very limited extent have they taught people what to believe or what to do. His theology is hopelessly chaotic; his writings have about them a kind of mystical sweetness—are sometimes brilliant, and occasionally grand—but his creed is like the nucleus of a comet, bright but undefined, and fading out into darkness. His Christ is a jellyfish of kindly intentions, and his gospel, "peace on earth and good pleasure among men," with the least possible reference to sin, or repentance, or forgiveness to the penitent.

Principal Tulloch's views respecting the present condition of Christianity in the learned world appear to be not at all assuring. He speaks of it somewhat in the tone used by Bishop Butler in the introduction to his famous "Analogy," but without the good Bishop's faith and hope. It is in a bad way, he seems to think, and must contend for its right to be, and accept such conditions as its enemies will concede to it. In the face of the scientists and agnostics of the present day, Spencer

and Tyndall and Huxley and Matthew Arnold, we are told that it has been pretty effectually driven to the wall; but that there is still hope in the case, for one of their own kind, but less truculently destructive than the rest—Dr. James Martineau—has come to the rescue of the remains of the defunct faith in the supernatural by developing a new species of theistic philosophy. Such an attitude of Christianity before its assailants—a mere begging for the privilege of being—is little less than a surrender. We much prefer the method recommended by Robert Hall, that instead of wasting too much time and strength in the defense of the truth, we should assert its reality and enter upon its privileges. The formidableness of unbelief is largely the result of a lack of confidence in the Christian verities among those who assume to be their interpreters and defenders. Some suspicion of this seems to be suggested in the closing paragraphs of the last of these lectures, even while confessing that *Materialism* "overshadows every other controversy in minds who understand it, or who have any perception of the forces at work." A direct presentation of the supernaturalism of Christianity, with all that it implies, in opposition to this philosophical Materialism, would greatly simplify the problem by effectually eliminating many of its chief factors on the side of unbelief; but with that method of warfare Principal Tulloch appears not to be in sympathy. Apparently his own mental estate has been so much nearer to that of the dreaded Materialists than to the despised "Evangelicals," that while he realizes the dangerousness of the former, he trusts but very faintly in the spiritual power of Christianity for its own defense.

The survey presented in these lectures of the "Movements of Religious Thought in Britain during the Nineteenth Century," to the end of the sixth decade, is highly readable and instructive; but it is entirely one-sided, and, as a presentation of the subject named, wholly untruthful. Instead of taking account of the whole subject indicated, only one side of it is given—the heterodox element in popular religious thinking—and this is so set forth as to seem to be the distinguishing and dominant characteristic of the religious thought of the age. That the lecturer was fully aware that there was another and a better side which he preferred to ignore, is shown by a side glance toward it given near the end of his work, where,

after telling of the might of the Materialists' forces, he concedes:

> But other forces have also been in active operation. . . . Religion, so far from losing its hold of the higher consciousness of our time, has not only survived, but, it may be said, has gathered strength under all the assaults, scientific and literary, which have menaced it.

It is quite certain that the faith of the Church has, in our times, been severely beset by the assaults of infidelity; and advantage has been taken by its enemies of the necessity for readjustments of the conceptions and statements of some of the externalities of Christian beliefs called for by the advancements of physical science and the adoption of improved methods of biblical interpretation, to cast doubts upon the whole system. And in this, as in many other instances, the assaults of its adversaries has proved the occasion for a more complete and intelligent vindication of the Gospel.

The most cursory glance over the field of religious literature, out of which Principal Tulloch selected his specimens and has given an inventory of one of its kinds, will discover the marvelous amount and richness of another and better kind. The impulse given to religious thinking by Coleridge, in respect to both the philosophy of Christian experience and the true method of biblical interpretation, was as readily accepted and utilized by the "Evangelicals" as by the "Liberals;" and, no doubt, in both these departments, all for which he contended is now freely recognized by the best Christian thinkers of the age. What he says in his "Confessions of an Inquiring Spirit" respecting the use of the Bible is worthy of himself and of the cause for which he wrote:

> When I take up this work [the Bible] with the purpose to read it for the first time as I should read any other work—as far, at least, as I can or dare, for I neither can nor dare throw off a strong and awful prepossession in its favor—certain as I am that a large part of the light and life in and by which I see, love, and embrace the truths and the strengths co-organized into a living body of faith and knowledge has been directly or indirectly derived to me from this sacred volume.

To the real Christian the Bible cannot be approached and considered apart from its essential and unique spiritual character, and for that very cause it should not be degraded to the

condition of a fetich, like the Koran in the hands of a Turk. The casting away of the fetichism with which superstition had invested the Bible brought on the transition of thought in and through which the enemies of religion have vainly sought to discredit the whole system of revelation. Archbishop Whately, pursuing a similar line of thought, applied it to a wider range, seeking to correct many popular misconceptions, which seemed to him to be not only the outgrowths of superstition, but to be also of pernicious tendency. Says our author:

> He was a subverter of prejudice and commonplace—of what he believed to be religious as well as irreligious mistake, more than any thing else. The majority of people seemed to him, as probably is always more or less the case, to live in an atmosphere of theological delusion, mistaking their own conceits for essential religious principles—making the New Testament writers responsible for notions that, to a just and intelligent criticism, had no existence there, and were indeed contrary to its spirit and teaching rightly interpreted. A whole cluster of beliefs came, in this way, under his destroying hand.

To conduct the popular mind and heart away from such superstitious fancies, and to destroy the prevalent fetich worship, is a delicate duty, beset with very great difficulties, for in many cases the false and the true are so interlaced with each other that there is great danger that in removing the tares the wheat shall also be destroyed. But evidently they can no longer be allowed to grow together, and Christian teachers are not at liberty to shun the duty that is devolved upon them; nor have they. And yet it must be conceded that in not a few cases there has not been the needed carefulness against occasions for "offenses," by which the unlearned might be caused to stumble, or be turned out of the way; and while some have erred through overmuch boldness, another class have been culpably derelict, in that they have refused to recognize and provide for the necessities of the case.

Any just and comprehensive estimate of the subject contemplated in these Lectures, instead of ignoring every thing except side issues and disturbing causes, must embrace the whole field and take account of all its phenomena. While these departures from the traditional courses of thought have been in progress the great current of religious teaching, as it came down from former times, has been broadening and deepening

throughout English-speaking Christendom. Contemporaneous with Dr. Thomas Arnold—who, though himself faithful till death, became, by the perversion of his teachings, the father of a class of theosophists, learned or fanciful, but wide of the truth—were Robert Hall the Baptist, and Richard Watson the Wesleyan, and Henry Rogers the Independent, and Chalmers of the Scotch Kirk, and Wiseman the Roman Catholic, and more than we can name of the English Established Church, all of whom brought their contributions of sound thinkings and able expositions to the common stock of wholesome Christian literature, which has through them attained to a degree of intellectual and literary excellence before unknown; and these were all theologians of the old school. Responding to the requirements of the better conceptions of the character of the Scripture, and using the improved methods of exegesis, a class of critics and exegetes, at once learned and fearless, and yet thoroughly orthodox, have given us not indeed a new Bible, but that brought down through all the ages of the Church, yet so clearly and broadly elucidated, and freed from the impediments of misconceptions and of false exegeses, that it commends itself equally to the heart and the intellect, and is equally available for the learned and the unlearned. There have, indeed, been, and there continue to be, unusual and unmistakable "movements" in the "religious thought" of the times, at which some are crying out, in their enmity against God's truth, that the faith has gone into a final eclipse, and that the end has come; and another class, seeing the truth emerging from its traditional husks, conclude that their teachers are, indeed, betraying their cause and giving it over to the enemies of the faith. But both the fears of the simple and the rejoicing of the malignants will be only for a little while; and, by virtue of the transitions now in process, the great spiritual truths of religion are coming forth with a clearness and force of demonstration heretofore unknown.

We are, however, quite ready to concede that the work that we have been using as the basis of these reflections is able and learned and decidedly readable. But while the author makes the mistake of speaking of a side current of the thinking of the age—which may be a back-flowing eddy—as if it were the entire flood, he also, in all his temper and manifestations of

preferences, gives the advantage to that which is furthest removed from the faith of the Church. While, therefore, we doubt not that the book may be used to profit, and certainly its style and substance will be likely to attract attention and win favor, yet unless it shall be read with watchful discrimination it will be sure to mislead. The "movements" of which the writer tells are, as to the great whole, very partial, and most certainly will prove to be only temporary. Indeed, their subsidence is already manifest; and still the course of divine truth is steadily onward.

EDITORIAL MISCELLANY.

CURRENT TOPICS.

THE TEMPERANCE CONFLICT.

When large armies meet in conflict the opposing lines extend face to face for miles along advantageous positions, and when the battle opens a skirmish line will be thrown out along the whole extent of front, or a *reconnaissance* will be made—in force or otherwise, as occasion demands—the object being to discover the weakest point of the enemy's line. This point being ascertained, the musketry may rattle along the whole line, cannon may bellow, and thundering charges may be made at various places; but these are largely feints to deceive the enemy, while the main fight is to be made at the point supposed to be weakest and most favorable for a decisive victory. Most great battles have been decided at one point of the line—the center at Waterloo, the left, and later the center, of the Federal line on the final and decisive day at Gettysburg.

This may serve as an analogy in the great temperance war that is upon us. For a century the battle has been raging, but it has so far been largely of the character of skirmish or *reconnaissance;* and perhaps this necessary preliminary work has not even yet been thoroughly done. At any rate there is no unanimous agreement as to which is the weakest point in the enemy's line. The fact has certainly been developed, that the opposing line is very strong at all points, that we are engaged in a terrible battle—much more extensive and malignant than most people imagine: but there is much difference of opinion as to where we should concentrate the attack and join issue for final victory. Undoubtedly some one point in the enemy's line is weakest, and it would be well for the temperance cause if its location could be determined with accuracy, and a general agreement secured to force the fighting at that point.

The battle front of intemperance consists of four divisions, namely, the rum-makers, the rum-sellers, the rum-drinkers, and the great indifferent public. If any one of these could be thoroughly crushed the battle would be won—it would not be necessary to crush the others. If the rum-makers could all be converted to better lives the manufacture of alcohol as a beverage would cease, the supply on hand would soon be exhausted, and the evil come to an end. If the rum-sellers could all be converted the battle would terminate; for, no matter how much rum might be manufactured, so long as none was on sale none could be bought. If all rum-drinkers could be persuaded to drink no more, it would avail nothing that rum was manufactured and offered for sale; there would be no purchasers, and the war with intemperance would be brought to a close. And could the great indifferent public be so thoroughly aroused as to rise up in its majesty and demand that this evil be abolished, nobody doubts that it would be abolished in spite of rum-makers, rum-sellers, and rum-drinkers.

After a hundred years of skirmishing it is legitimate to ask, Which is the weakest division of the enemy's line? Where should we concentrate our troops and force the fighting? Perhaps the times are not yet ripe for an answer to this question, but it may be doubted whether a decisive victory will be gained until the answer is given. Can we end this contest by converting the rum-makers? Probably no one has ever supposed so. Little effort has been made to induce distillers and brewers to give up their business, and this little has yielded but a meager harvest. These are hard-hearted men, and the love of gain overpowers all other considerations. An insuperable practical obstacle will always exist in the fact that if all the rum-makers should go out of this business at once as many others would enter upon it without delay. This division of the enemy's line seems impregnable.

Can we end the contest by converting the rum-sellers? This has been a favorite theory with some, though it has not found general acceptance. Spasmodic efforts have been made during all temperance revivals with a limited measure of success. The only really vigorous movement of the kind was the "Woman's Crusade" of the West; but three discouraging features mark its history, namely, it was of only partial thoroughness, of limited geographical extent, and of short duration, [and it had an element of Lynch law.] It is doubtful whether another such attempt will ever be made. Rum-sellers are bad men, who care little for the woes of human society so long as the love of gain spurs them on. The same practical difficulty attends their reformation as that of rum-makers. If all the rum-sellers in the land should go out of business to-day as many more would embark in the enterprise to-morrow.

Can we end the war by converting the rum-drinkers? Around this standard multitudes of temperance people have rallied, and against this division charge after charge has been made. It has seemed at times as though the line of intemperance would surely be broken at this point and the contest ended; but anon the temperance forces have been driven back,

and years of discouragement have followed before another attack was made. The Father Mathew societies, the Washingtonian movement, the secret lodges, the blue-ribbon gospel temperance meetings have all had in view the reformation of the drinker, and hundreds, even thousands, have been saved from the drunkard's grave. Good Francis Murphy and many more still continue this noble work, although it has been attended with great discouragement. It is estimated that the Washingtonian movement reformed six hundred thousand drunkards, and that four hundred and fifty thousand of them returned to their cups. It is also known that the blue-ribbon army has largely deserted to the enemy. Fallen human nature is very weak, and there is wide-spread skepticism among temperance workers with respect to permanent victory in this direction.

Perhaps a majority of the advocates of temperance have turned their batteries on the great indifferent public, which, by its indifference, puts itself on the side of rum. Their theory is, that if the public can be sufficiently aroused to take a decided stand intemperance will soon be suppressed. But the attack on the public is made by two parties, which differ widely in sentiment and methods. The purpose of one party is simply to convert the public to total abstinence practices. This theory was stated in few words by one of the earliest temperance workers of the country: "We have at present fast hold of a project for making all people in this country and in all other countries temperate, or, rather, a plan to induce those who are temperate to continue so. Then, as all who are intemperate will soon be dead, the earth will be eased of an amazing evil." In working the theory, however, efforts to save the drunkard have also been made, and the pledge has been handed to drinkers and non-drinkers indiscriminately. The weakness of the method has already been indicated —the pledged drunkard returns to his cups, while multitudes who are not drinkers either refuse to sign the pledge or turn to intemperance after the pledge is taken. To remedy this defect the Gospel has been invoked, and a "gospel temperance" war has been waged. This virtually reduces temperance effort to the dimensions of Christian effort. The logical drift of the movement is seen by many of its advocates, though not by all. This method simply affirms that men can be saved from possible or actual intemperance only so far and so fast as they are saved from other sins; and its advocates raise the question whether this has not already been accomplished. Their theory is the gospel theory, that God does not save the world from one sin at a time, and that we shall gain nothing by trying to drive men into temperance while we leave them in the practice of all other sins. They assert that we cannot by legislation impose a particular virtue on a godless community; that temperance is already abreast of the other virtues; and that it will be impossible to proceed farther except as we advance the whole line in the conversion of the world. Their theory would convict other workers of using methods against intemperance which cannot be employed against sins in general, and of trying to push back the line of evil at this point farther than at other points. And they can refer to the remark of the father of the temperance movement,

Dr. Rush himself, who said: "From the influence of the Quakers and Methodists in checking this evil, I am disposed to believe that the business must be effected finally by religion alone."

Others, again, appeal to the general public not only to accept the principle of total abstinence, but prohibition also. Multitudes will never be saved from intemperance unless the temptation is removed from them; and so moral suasion and prohibition are both necessary. To the appeals of the Gospel they would add the restrictions of civil law to save weak men from a great evil.

After many years of experiment with prohibition, in the form of local option or State law, the thought of the country has been turned toward constitutional prohibition as the goal of its hopes. And if we are to have prohibition we cannot stop short of this; for by such means alone can we be saved from the constant fluctuations of changing Legislatures which have marked the history of prohibition in the past.

Constitutional prohibition can be secured as soon as the people demand it—not before. And prohibitory laws against intemperance are as likely to be enforced as prohibitory laws against any other form of evil, provided always that public sentiment condemns intemperance as emphatically as it does theft and murder. Until such a sentiment exists even constitutional prohibition could avail nothing, for we should have the anomaly of a constitutional clause prohibiting intemperance, while an adverse Legislature might sweep from the statute books all laws enforcing the Constitution. If, then, the main attack is to be made on the great indifferent public, the task set before temperance men is to win a majority of the voters of the country to total abstinence and prohibition. It will be necessary to win them to total abstinence first, since they will never prohibit others until they are willing to prohibit themselves. And a bare majority will not answer the purpose, for no prohibitory law can be enforced on such a basis. There must be a very considerable majority, whose moral power will easily overbear all opposition. Our work is to win this overwhelming majority to the side of prohibition; and let no one suppose this is a light task. It is a momentous undertaking, and implies the conversion of the bulk of our citizens to high morality, if not religion itself. Let us not expect too much or we shall be disappointed, and let us not be discouraged if the millennium of temperance is long in coming. Any who are looking to the abolition of slavery as an analogy are doomed to disappointment, for intemperance is not an evil that can be wiped out by a proclamation or a civil war. Only the most long-continued and persistent effort can ever suppress it; and when it has been suppressed and prohibition enacted, it may at any time revive again by a lapse of the people into immorality or indifference.

A somewhat general acceptance of the principle of prohibition by temperance people at once raises the vexed question of method. How shall we best win a controlling majority of the voters of the land to prohibition? In the diversity of opinion that prevails is, perhaps, to be found the weakness of the movement. Some favor a political party, devoted to

prohibition, and hope to win sufficient voters from the other parties to make it successful. But a majority of even temperance voters refuse to leave the old parties; and they declare that if this method cannot gain the favor of temperance voters it will not be likely to make inroads among voters who are indifferent to the cause of temperance. While many are ready to admit that temperance is the greatest issue before the people to-day, they are not ready to admit that it is more important than all other issues combined, and so they cling to the old parties. Others claim that we cannot touch the question of prohibition by our votes at present (except in the case of local option), and so they choose between the old parties on other grounds than temperance.

Some advocates of prohibition, while not accepting a Prohibition party, yet hope for a new reform party on a broader basis than prohibition, and in the present unsettled condition of parties, it is impossible to predict whereunto this may grow.

Most advocates of temperance are of opinion that we can best win voters to the principle of prohibition by not antagonizing their political relations, and so they look to the pulpit, the platform, and temperance literature to do the work. They assert that a Prohibition party must necessarily antagonize one or the other of the old parties, and will alienate all who are not ready to break their party affiliation. Especially they point to the fact that it turns away thousands of voters who are not Christian men, and are not fully under the control of Christian principle, who nevertheless are favorable to temperance, and if carefully and wisely handled, could be depended on to approve total abstinence and prohibition. These sentiments have crystallized in the non-partisan and non-sectarian National Temperance League, with head-quarters in Boston. The opponents of these methods pronounce them indefinite and contradictory, and not likely to accomplish the purpose. They declare that it is necessary to erect a standard on this issue, and invite the friends of temperance to rally around it; that the old parties will not touch prohibition, but are both wedded to the rum power. They further assert that mere agitation has proved a failure in the past, and that nothing but a political party will give us the long-coveted prohibition.

These differences have not always been kept within friendly bounds; and the special weakness of the temperance cause at present is, the ill-feeling that has been developed between various sections of workers growing out of political action and affiliations. It happens that running a Prohibition party helps the Democratic party in the North, and opposing the Prohibition party helps the Republican party in the South, and so we have the melancholy spectacle of each side accusing the other of acting in the interest of one of the old parties. Those who favor the Prohibition party charge all prohibitionists who oppose it with doing so in order to help the Republican party; and the National Non-partisan League is pronounced nothing better than a feeder to that party. On the other hand, those who oppose a Prohibition party charge its adherents with running it as an "annex" to the Democratic party, asserting also that Democratic

money prints and circulates Prohibition party documents. It is declared that the Prohibition party is run to secure revenge on the Republican party; and in opposition it is asserted that temperance Republicans are opposing prohibition in order to avenge themselves on the Prohibition party for the defeat of Mr. Blaine. Documents printed in favor of a Prohibition party are called Democratic documents, while those issued against it are called Republican documents. Democrats are cheering on the Prohibition party, but are not voting its ticket; while Republicans clap their hands for the Non-partisan League, but do not generally practice its principles. And, finally, each faction accuses the other of being on the side of rum. The advocates of a Prohibition party cannot imagine that their brethren oppose such a party solely in the interest of temperance, and *vice versa*. These good friends of temperance on both sides seem utterly incapable of supposing that their opponents are doing what they think will be for the advantage of the temperance cause without any reference to the old parties. This is a sad spectacle, and an ill omen for the future of temperance. So bitter is the feeling in some sections that pastoral relations have been unsettled, and the subject practically driven from the pulpit.

The great weakness at present seems to be this want of harmony among temperance men themselves—a lack of unity of purpose and plan of attack. This has not been uncommon in all the history of the temperance movement, but the weakness of ill-feeling and disharmony has of late been greatly aggravated. The warfare has been, and is, too much of the nature of bushwhacking—each company fighting on its own plan, without submitting to the commands of some controlling mind. We sadly need a great general in whom all can trust, and a broad plan of attack that will utilize all the temperance forces of the land.

Sometimes a general is beaten in battle, and pleads as an excuse that he was not able to bring all his forces into action. Whenever this is the case there is a fault in the plan of attack. Every well-conducted contest should be able to make available all the resources of the cause. And surely the temperance cause, with such a gigantic and united foe in its front, has no resources to waste, and no shots to fire at its own friends. If we are to direct our attack, as seems the latest purpose, against the great indifferent public, we should use those methods that will best tend to win indifferent men to our side, and we should hesitate to alienate any of the friends of temperance. The plan of attack should be such that it will not be necessary to fight the friends of temperance as well as its enemies.

H. Graham.

FOREIGN, RELIGIOUS AND LITERARY.

FRANCE IN MADAGASCAR.—In spite of their reverses in the Orient the French seem determined to remain in Madagascar. It was believed by some that the very heavy outlay in that field would cause the Chambers to hesitate to make any more grants; but not so. When credit of twelve additional millions was demanded there was a veritable rivalry as to who should say the strongest things in favor of granting it. A few of the leading Radicals spoke against the measure, but in vain. The Catholic leaders favored the grant because it was a struggle in the island between Catholics and Protestants, and these latter must be defeated, said Bishop Freppel and Count Mun.

The representative from the neighboring island of Reunion demanded the conquest of Madagascar because of its importance for future colonization, whose prospects he painted in the brightest colors. And even the representative from Cochin China presented the beauties and advantages of Madagascar in the rosiest light. Ex-Minister Ferry declared the speech of his Catholic rival, Bishop Freppel, an extremely patriotic one, but did not believe in the application to a half-civilized people of the international laws created for civilized States. Freycinet favored a continuation of the campaign against the Hovas. Circumstances had forced France to undertake the subjugation of certain sections of the island; and his assertion that the claims of France on Madagascar are a national inheritance was received with great applause. Ferry, who had declared just after his fall that he would never utter another word in the Chamber, forgot this rash promise, and secured the floor to assert that his colonial policy was necessary in order to open new avenues for the extension of a civilization which the more cultivated nations have a right and a duty to force on those in a lower plane of culture; and as all other nations were entering on the colonial movement, therefore must France follow suit in self-defense and self-respect.

Finally the credit called for was granted by a large majority in the Chambers, and by an almost unanimous vote in the Senate. Nearly all the French journals supported the measure for the reason, in the first place, that seven millions of the twelve had already been used, and because France stood before a people that had treated her with disrespect in using contemptuous and offensive language toward the French Republic. But we submit, that after the above *exposé* which we make of the position of many French statesmen, it is little wonder that the Hovas treat them with disrespect. So far as we know, the actions of France in Madagascar have commanded the respect of no civilized nation on the globe—to say nothing of the "uncultured nations." We are, however, very glad to notice that the French Protestants uncover this corruption in no honeyed words in their respective organs. Leon Pilatte battles bravely in this line, and says some very weighty words to the French people in his

"Eglise Libre." The Royalists and Catholics were most energetic in defending the "ancient claims of France."

THE MORMONS ARE IN BERLIN presenting their disgusting doctrines so openly and shamelessly that the Christian world is rising energetically against them. It shocks the descendants of Luther to hear these "apostles" call themselves "Latter-day Saints," and in public meetings attack the truths of Christianity before a noisy and exulting mob rejoiced to hear them caricatured and trodden in the mire. Two men and eighteen women made up the "apostolic band," of which it was doubtful whether the latter were "sealed," according to the well-known artistic expression, or whether they were free candidates for favor. The men were unknown and coarse individuals, and the women perhaps even more so, and the Berliners think it impossible that they can make many converts to their peculiar views. But aside from special results, is the humiliating and alarming fact that such occurrences can take place where all sacred things are thrown to the dogs, and subjects that have hitherto been treated with the gentlest hands are now exposed to coarse contempt.

A well-known and much respected editor of a Christian journal takes his people to task in regard to the matter in some very practical words of local application. He considers such exhibitions as much more dangerous than the worst meetings of the Socialists, though very few seem to agree with him. The Mormons rob the people of their spiritual treasures, which is a far greater crime than an attack on material possessions. What a shouting there is among the crowd of cultured and uncultured free-thinkers to hear maligned the doctrine of the resurrection from the dead, the divinity of Christ, or his ascent to heaven; and this in a way so much more blasphemously than ever before!

No one who knows the doctrine of Mormonism can doubt that it is founded on the basest falsehood, and is most disgraceful in theory and practice—a diabolical caricature of divine mysteries. It is therefore an inexplicable contradiction and a dangerous self-deception to treat such teachings as a coarse joke, even while a meeting of Socialists is dissolved by the police as soon as they commence to speak of an increase of wages or an amelioration of the condition of the working classes.

"This unreasoning contradiction is still more glaring when one reflects that what is punished as a crime in civil life is openly defended in the doctrine of Mormon polygamy," say the more thoughtful and moral Germans; to whom comes the vile reply, that practical Mormonism exists in Berlin as in all great cities of Europe, only that thereby there is no process of sealing gone through with as a farce. These bitter discussions in the press have at least the value of calling the attention of all classes to the Mormon apostles, and of exposing their detestable doctrines, so that not much more progress will be made by them throughout Germany. The Mormons have made most of their European converts among the grossly ignorant. Very few come to them knowing of the most offensive feature of their doctrines until they are in the noose and surrounded by the snares.

The authorities all over Europe are having their eyes opened to the movements of these miscreants, and there is reason to believe that before long their operations will be very much restricted.

Norway is fast becoming the stamping-ground of Catholicism. The time was when the Scandinavian lands were so absolutely Protestant that a Catholic could scarcely be found within them. The name of Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden is dear to the Protestant world, because at the head of his brave band he hastened to the assistance of North Germany and drove back the Catholic cohorts of the South.

But now Norway is a special mission field of the Romish Church, and the workers are all controlled by a leader bearing the title of "Apostolic Prefect." In Christiania there is a mission church of beautiful style and proportions, whose gilded dome and cross overlook the waters of the fiord. Connected with this is a boys' school and a parsonage, in which are a vicar and a rector. Opposite is the educational institute of the Sisters of St. Joseph, containing a girls' school for the city and a dormitory for poor children, where at present over thirty boys and girls are supported. With these there is also a hospital for the sick of the families of the city; and the sisters are about to establish an international hospital in this important sea-port, with nurses speaking several languages, so as to care for all the sick sailors who come from all Catholic lands. The regular members of their congregation are increasing at the rate of forty per year, and of these the majority are converts.

At the extreme southern point of Norway, in Frederikshald, a city of ten thousand inhabitants, a new church is in the course of erection, and in Bergen, a city of 40,000, a new edifice in Romish style is nearly finished. The rector here is a born Norwegian, though most of the priests employed are German or French. In Trondhjem, with 20,000, a new station has just been dedicated to the Sacred Heart of Jesus, with a rector from France. A month or two ago bishops from Germany and other points met and consecrated young priests for the work—an act which, in these northern lands, has taken place only once since the Reformation.

In Tromsö there has been a mission since 1859, which has grown now into a church, a parsonage, and a large school. The principal priest here is a Hollander. Even as high north as Hammerfest a mission has been stationed and provided with the usual adjuncts. The school here is controlled by secular teachers, and the congregation consists mostly of converts. In southern Norway, at Frederikstadt, where the climate is much milder than at the north, a young Norwegian priest, lately ordained in Belgium, but of feeble health, has been sent to work. The Catholic narrator declares that in a little time he was surrounded by many who desired to learn the doctrines of the Catholic faith, and in a couple of years he has gained a small congregation of converts, who now call for a church, a parsonage, and a school. The general report says, that the people are anxious to learn about the mother-Church, and that they come out in numbers to the services. But the Protestant pastors declare that these

conversions are owing to the dissatisfaction of the people with the State Church, and the present liberty for all confessions in Norway.

A Swiss Pastoral Conference was lately held in that famous Protestant Rome, the ancient city of Geneva, at which were present two hundred ministers, the majority from French Switzerland. The opening sermon by Doret claimed the unity of the professors of the Protestant faith, and derived this from the genuine piety which is a special mark of its believers, notwithstanding their apparent conflicts. It was gladly conceded by all that an era of peace, or at least of mutual respect, had been gained, which is very favorable for the work of missions and the growth of Christian life.

The first day was spent in treating of the evangelization of the masses apart from the official means of instruction; and the question brought out many speakers, and became the key-note of the occasion. Prof. Chapuis, from Lausanne, declared this to be a question of life or death to the Protestant Church in Switzerland; and this because the personal Christianity inherited or gained from the parents is entirely insufficient, and that numbers who are without God and hope visit the sanctuary as a formal duty or a personal enjoyment. He depicted in glowing colors the present crisis of the true faith in Switzerland in the hostility of the masses to any religion, and the consequent necessity of bringing to them the belief in God by other than the old traditional forms in which so many Christians are enchained.

These Swiss pastors seem fairly touched with the spirit of the age, and demand that Christianity must be borne from the churches to the street: and this by means of home mission work, even to the public meetings to forward the cause of sobriety. They think that the more this is done by the various Churches the better they will know and the more they will respect one another.

A lively discussion arose as to the best kind of popular evangelization for the Swiss people, they being generally intelligent and capable of listening critically to Gospel teaching. In answer to this proposition there appeared a general demand for better trained preachers, and especially for men who would think less of gaining positions than of curing souls, and who were ready to enter every-where on philanthropic work.

This discussion brought out a new feature, namely, the growing conviction among Swiss clergymen of the necessity of lay workers who should conquer the world by the love of men and the desire to awaken their spiritual instincts. Many seemed to regard the lay sermon as a material element in the organism of the Church; one speaker even favored street-preaching. But a disturbing force here, quite evidently, was the unpopularity in Switzerland of the modes of the Salvation Army, which have brought public demonstrations into contempt. Another very important discussion arose on the manner of presenting the doctrine of sin so as to meet the experience and the needs of the hour; and this investigation showed conclusively that the Protestants of French Switzerland

are making great advance in practical divine life. Never before could they have so deeply discussed the true nature of religious conviction and the true methods of propagating religious truth. In this they have made a long step toward practical Methodism.

The Religious Life of Holland is comparatively little known to the outer world of late, though in former years its theologians exerted a great influence on the religious world at large, and there are still many cherished names in the Protestant Church among the ranks of its present workers. But it is now by no means a unity in its Christian life. There are very many shades of ecclesiastical belief within its borders, and a goodly sprinkling of the Roman Catholic Church.

The Dutch Church, properly so called, is in a period of conflict, for there are within its lines many and various theological shades. The decidedly negative and "modern" tendency, which has held the upper hand for some twenty years, is losing its hold, though it still retains the power in the synod. This decline of the "modern" tendency in Holland has been induced by the power of the religious spirit abroad among the people The Church is now also in conflict with the State, because this, in its efforts at "neutrality," has deprived the universities of the theological faculties and the public schools of religious instruction. But the Christian people of Holland conduct this strife not by striking their adversaries, but by making great sacrifices in the establishment and support of Christian schools and institutions for Christian culture.

The movement for the support of popular Christian effort in the line of schools and home missions is quite extensive. At the present time there are 420 Protestant elementary schools with the Bible in them taught to 70,000 children; and every year about twenty new schools are established. The whole story of this new-born energy in Holland is very interesting, as some of its leading workers bear the best names in the land. The whole development of the last few years in this direction is giving to Dutch Christians a consciousness of their own strength, and preparing the way for the disestablishment of a State religion that uses much of its power in preventing, rather than advancing, Christian ideas. The real Christianity of Holland has thus organized itself into a Church militant.

Military Duty is required of theologians in Prussia and other German states on the ground that the nation has a right to demand of all its citizens a certain fitness to be defenders of the country in time of attack from foreign foes. But this reason seems often, as in France, to be used as a cloak for the real reason, which is rather a hostility to the Church and all who enter its ranks.

It is but telling the actual truth to say, that the system works badly, and is really not acceptable to the army, as it is of course not to the Church. The subject is therefore the theme of discussion in the synods, in which an effort is now being made in Prussia to induce the government to allow all the theological students serving in the army the priv-

ilege of at least half of their time either in the hospitals or as assistant chaplains, so that they may at least learn something that is more in accordance with their vocations than that of the art of waging war.

All theologians ought, by virtue of their university acquirements, to be able to gain the right of serving but one year, and this is, we may say, universally the case. Therefore their time of service, if devoted to any thing else, is entirely too short to allow them to learn any thing of military tactics and science of any value; and this is especially the case if they are placed in the reserve corps, where they will soon forget what little practical skill in the handling of arms they may have acquired.

It is therefore gratifying to see the military officers joining with the theological bodies in deprecating the whole system. The officers say that they find no pleasure in the theological students among their troops. They drill and instruct them in strategical science, aware that, with all their trouble on both sides, they will harvest no fruits from their labors. They cannot make reserve officers of them for want of time, and as soon as they enter the ministry their availability for actual war is lost, for they would then enter the army again as chaplains, and not as fighting soldiers. The result is, that most of the military officers favor them during the service, and that the whole affair is a practical failure. We are thus pleased to chronicle a growing disfavor of the entire system.

The Gambling Hell of Monaco must go, we are glad to say. For the last few months petitions have been sent in large numbers to the French Senate to have this vile *tripot* stamped out. They were referred to a commission that was unanimously of this opinion, and it can hardly be possible that the better portion of the French people will not succeed in their worthy efforts. The Minister of the Interior has promised his co-operation in the matter, and the Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs says all that can be desired in answer to an appeal to come to the rescue with his influence. All those interested in the maintenance of the plague, including the Catholic clergy of the principality, are to lose their shameless profits. It is no credit to France that she has so long stood as guardian to this infamous business, which last year reaped fifty-six suicides and engulfed numberless fortunes in its abyss. And we are gratified to know that among the foremost of the workers in this cause are the French Protestants, led on by Rev. Leon Pilatte, the eloquent and fearless editor of the "Eglise Libre."

The Official Oath is causing a great deal of discussion in certain European lands, so that several treatises on the matter have lately appeared, written in a certain Christian spirit, but demanding the abolition of the biblical oath, at least, because of the levity and indifference with which it is too frequently taken. In some countries the oath is abolished entirely. In France the witness now swears on honor and conscience; in Italy without this proviso, but also without any reference to God; and in other lands, as in Spain and Switzerland, efforts are being continually

made to put aside the religious oath. In Germany, Denmark, and England the matter has caused a great deal of agitation in the Parliaments. These States are clearly in a great crisis of modern civil life, where many are desirous of emancipating the State from all religion, but cannot well dispense with the religious oath. The formula in many instances is reduced to the mere acknowledgment of a God, but as the world is now full of atheists, this fact is of little avail.

In these discussions all serious persons agree as to certain things, namely, that too many oaths are demanded, and that the ceremony is fast becoming a cold and meaningless formality that seems to give open doors to perjury, which is greatly on the increase, as is proved by the statistics of various nations: In Prussia, for instance, from 1854–1878, perjury increased 128 per cent.; in Bavaria, from 1871–1877, from 166 to 431; in Saxony, from 258 to 512 per cent. These fearful facts show that Christians and statesmen may well combine to effect a reform of some kind.

Father Curci, the famous Jesuit priest, expelled from the order and punished in various ways for his heresies in regard to the temporal power of the Pope, finds it very hard to submit to the enforced idleness imposed on him by his subjection to the highest authority, and now therefore appears with a new book on "Christian Socialism." In this it is evident that he has carefully studied the best authorities extant, and the conviction to which he has come is, that there is no panacea for the social trouble and unrest but practical Christianity. And in this conviction he calls on his "dear Italy" to devote itself to this noble task in the spirit of its great statesman, Cavour, called to a too early grave. For the confused national system of Europe he would have established an International Court of Arbitration, which might lead to an era of universal peace. He would have all the States of Europe agree greatly to reduce their military budgets, which are causing so much of the trouble to the working classes. With these hints as to its contents we need scarcely add that the work is one of peculiar idealism permeated with a love of humanity.

"The Conversion of Pastors" is the startling title of a book just published in Berlin by the General Superintendent Braun of the State Church. It seems, indeed, to be the ally of the conscience, and presents in its true light the needs of effective pastoral activity. Dr. Braun argues, that to insure conversion of the members of the congregation there first must be a thorough conversion in the man who holds the pastoral office; for if this fails, then is every service in the vineyard of the Lord without fruit. The author emphatically exclaims: "What a thundering accusation it is against a servant of Christ when a member of his Church can say of him, 'In the pulpit every other word is Christ, but in actual life every thing is World! world!'" But we say, what a striking comment it is that such words as these can be truly thought and used in regard to a great body of spiritual teachers! Can they be deserved? or are they a crying insult and injustice

to those to whom they are directed? We fear, alas! that they are indeed well placed where they are put.

Old Catholic Literature seems greatly on the increase among the Germans. There is an excellent organ, bearing the title "Old Catholic Messenger," and published at Heidelberg (Baden) by the city pastor, Dr. Ricks. A recent number contains an article of four columns on the "Errors of the Romish Church," treating mainly of the dogma of infallibility, of baptism, the sacrament, and confession. In this, such a mass of facts appears of actually cited cases where popes of different periods have been in hostility to each other, that the mere thought of infallibility in any of them becomes absurd. Indeed, the simple work on Heresy presented by Bishop Hefele to the pope is a stronger argument against infallibility than any that can be given by Protestant authorities. Such Old Catholic scholars as Von Schulte, Reinkens, Knoodt, and Döllinger have served up with details the labors of about two hundred and fifty popes, containing such numberless interesting facts of history that they need but to be known to relieve the Jesuitism of the day of the fragment of a platform on which to stand.

DOMESTIC RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

Canon Farrar in America.—Probably no man, since Dean Stanley visited America, has received such marked consideration from the American public, and imparted so much of his own thought to us, as Archdeacon Farrar. His wide range of interests has given him auditors from the most diverse classes of persons. His sympathetic, scholarly discussions of purely literary topics—his broad, firm enunciation of religious convictions in his sermons—his tact and un-British readiness in impromptu remarks on various occasions—his hearty participation in the deliberations of the Americo-Anglican Church—and, finally, his bold utterances upon the questions of temperance, have altogether placed him within the touch of "all sorts and conditions of men."

His well-known attitude upon the last-mentioned subject called forth an expression from those prominent among us, and took the form of a reception, tendered to him jointly by the National Temperance Society and the Church Temperance Society. Canon Farrar is an advocate of total abstinence, and gives clear reasons for his position, untinged by the utopian and fanatical ideas which have repelled many, and caused a lack of sympathy with some of the supporters of this branch of the question.

He addressed the audience in Chickering Hall, extemporaneously, for nearly an hour, and reiterated his opinions as expressed in "The Nineteenth Century" of May last, in his reply to Lord Bramwell on "Drink." There he says: "Sin is the worst curse of mankind, and intemperance is

the one sin at once very common and very fatal which is absolutely and easily preventable. It is the one curse of humanity of which we might absolutely cut off the entail. At present it is the scourge of nations, and into many nations England has helped to introduce that scourge. We have 'girdled the world with a zone of drunkenness;' we have made ourselves, as the Archbishop of York said, 'the drunken Helots of the world.' Such statements only sound exaggerated to those who know nothing of the facts, and who have not heard the bitter cry which has arisen from the tribes of North America, from the West Indies, from India, from Ceylon, from Australia, from New Zealand, from Natal, from Madagascar, from Mauritius, from the Hottentots and Kaffirs, whom drink, more than any other cause, has helped to decimate and degrade. . . . We have become total abstainers in the desire to diminish the awful aggregate of human wretchedness. Without personal example, *we* cannot ourselves succeed in rescuing the drunkard. . . . To us the protection by government of a liberty which is inevitably associated with frightful license, is an abdication of the noblest functions of rule, and involves the neglect of the classes least represented, whose interests should therefore be most carefully studied. . . . The prime minister told us, in the House of Commons, that drink produced evils more deadly, because more continuous, than those of the three great historic scourges of war, famine, and pestilence combined; and 'that,' he said, 'was the measure of our discredit and disgrace.'"

American public opinion has long been in advance of that of other countries upon this subject so vital to national prosperity, but with such words from leading Englishmen in Church and State, with such warnings and appeals, we may confidently expect a growth of sentiment and practice in favor of this great reform which will extend throughout all ranks of society in Great Britain.

In a memorial of Cardinal M'Closkey, the first American Cardinal of the Roman Catholic Church, published in the "American Catholic Quarterly Review" for October, the growth of that Church in New York and Brooklyn within the short period of his life is pointed out. In his boyhood he could not find in Brooklyn a church wherein to worship, nor a priest who could administer to him the sacraments; he was obliged for that privilege to cross to New York, and there obtain the coveted favor in one of the two churches of that city. There are now in Brooklyn, according to the same authority, one bishop, more than one hundred priests, and nearly as many churches and chapels. New York has, in place of her two small churches, an archiepiscopal see, two hundred priests, and over one hundred churches. Within the life-time of Cardinal M'Closkey, mainly within the years of his priesthood, has this change been wrought.

Among other enterprises, it is now proposed to found an American Catholic University, within which, as a focus, to unite the results of all former educational projects. The aim of this university has been well characterized as "not merely a corporation dispensing knowledge of

a varied and excellent kind, but a high tribunal presiding over the spirit of its times; judging and fashioning thought and feeling; regulating public opinion; settling intellectual strifes; far above partiality or weakness or dependency of any kind." The spirit of an able article on this subject in the above Review is entirely opposed to the modern idea of education as summed up in the term "practical." Utilitarianism is deplored, and the opposition which must be encountered from the popular educational party, if American Catholics determine to establish a real *universitas literarum*, is frankly met and acknowledged. The weight of American prejudice against a combination of ecclesiastical and literary aims as offered in such an institution is felt; but a zeal for the "one true faith," and a manly acknowledgment of devotion to the interests of the "one true Church," shames the lukewarm, shifting allegiance of the majority of Protestants. The fact that the Roman Catholic Church in America is about to crown its well-founded structure with a broad educational enterprise is one of great significance.

The Tenth Congress of the Protestant Episcopal Church was held in New Haven, beginning October 20, and continuing four days. The Church was represented by both clergy and laity coming together from distant parts of our country, and holding views quite as far separated. The subjects under discussion were those of denominational interest, more especially, and avowedly chosen to promote a greater unity within that Communion. While freedom of expression was encouraged, a skillful tact was apparent in turning the currents in desired directions. The Congress has no voting power, and is simply a voluntary gathering of Episcopalians for discussion.

"The Christian Doctrine of the Atonement" was the first topic discussed, and upon which Canon Farrar gave his views. The trend of the discussion was not toward the "old orthodoxy." "The Grounds of Church Unity" was opened by Bishop Coxe in a truly "Church" spirit, and treated by Canon Farrar in such sentences as, "Partisans are ever ready to say with the sons of thunder, 'We forbade him because he followeth not with us;' but Christ's answer was, 'Forbid him not.' . . . Unity is essential and obligatory; uniformity is impossible, and even I will venture to say, undesirable. . . . The railing restrictions which would fain fence in with anathemas the portal of the Church are unevangelic, unapostolic, unchristian." But Farrar did not voice the ruling sentiment of the body.

Among the topics discussed were "The Ethics of the Tariff Question," "Æstheticism in Worship," "Free Churches," "Deaconesses and Sisterhoods," and "Place and Methods of Bible Study in the Christian Life."

Law and Gospel in Utah.—A judicious mingling of the Law and the Gospel is the remedy necessary to cure the evil disease prevailing in Utah. It is not difficult to find numbers of physicians ready to make out

prescriptions; but, as is often the case, the dose stops just outside of the patient's mouth. Utah objects.

The government tried persuasion—offered gelatine capsules—but Utah remained unreasonable. Now the government has seized the patient and forces her to swallow at least a portion of the medicine.

A vigorous article in the "Andover Review" sets forth the danger of the situation. Fifteen thousand of the inhabitants of the Territory are in polygamy; many more are firm believers in the doctrines of the Book of Mormon. The hope, rumored about, that this people would depart in a body to Mexico, has not sufficient foundation; some of the most fanatical may go, the bulk of the population will stay in their present pleasant and prosperous home. In September last about thirty of the elders were in durance vile, accused of offenses against United States laws, most of them awaiting trial. The more recent case of "Bishop" Sharp in pleading guilty on being arraigned, has not been followed by similar instances. The "arm of the law" seemed to become nerveless before such gentle submission, and the ordinary penalties were so far remitted as to emphasize the belief that the "Bishop" was a martyr.

Converts to Mormonism continue to be gathered from almost every State and Territory. A number of perverts from among Methodists and Presbyterians in Illinois are recently reported. While our Church is working in Scandinavia to prevent the spread of this evil doctrine, and in Utah to substitute the pure light of the Gospel for superstitious darkness, here in our midst we find the plague spreading. It has been said that statesmanship of a more transcendent quality than has yet been applied will be needed. This part of the remedy, so far, has caused a quickened circulation in the patient, but no *cure* is possible without both Law and Gospel.

The latter element is rapidly increasing in effectiveness. The work and influence of the different Churches in the Territory are beginning to leaven the whole lump. The establishment of our own Church was only effected fifteen years ago; naturally its early progress was slow, for the enmity it met, besides being very bitter, was well organized. Statistics show a very encouraging increase in every department of our work, while reports of conversions from among the ranks of the Mormons continually reach us. One fact of great significance is shown in the item that in 1884 there were four hundred and twelve children of Mormon parentage attending our day-schools. Our converts are not only from the English-speaking population; there is much done among the Scandinavians—a people who furnish many recruits to the Mormon faith.

The Roman Catholic Church has schools for both boys and girls in Salt Lake City, as well as a well-equipped hospital. The Episcopalians have also a hospital, besides schools; the Presbyterians and Congregationalists are active in the cause of education; all this besides the direct evangelical work of the several denominations. A need long felt has recently found expression in an appeal for pure literature to counteract the tracts and books of the Mormon Church. Utah needs to be "sown knee deep" with pure literature; those on the ground say Mormonism seems to be

losing its hold, but the work is not done. There can be no compromise between the government and polygamy. There can be no compromise between the Gospel and polygamy. "True to God and our country" must be the watch-word of preachers, teachers, and officials of the government.

While the Methodist term "revival," as well as some of our distinctive "revival methods," are repudiated by some of our sister denominations in their recent organizations for evangelistic work in New York and neighboring cities, yet to Methodists "mission" and "missioner," and similar terms, indicate nearly the same thing as "revival meetings" and "revivalists." It would be incorrect to say that such efforts are a complete novelty in other Churches; they are comparatively so in the Episcopal Church in this country. Under whatever name the organized effort goes, the object is to win souls. In that object all Christians are united. In New York a "mission" was appointed for "Advent," to be held in eighteen of the Episcopal churches of the city. Services are held four times a day, especially designed to reach all classes and ages of attendants. Several of the "missioners" are from England, belonging to the Parochial Mission Society of the Church of England, men peculiarly suited to such service. So far, three "missions" have been held in the Church of England, in 1869, 1874, and 1884; an increasingly large number of churches participating in the successive years.

A similar organized effort has been set on foot among the Presbyterian churches in New York, instituted by the action of the Presbytery of New York, and arranged to include in due order all the churches of this denomination in the city. It seems to be necessary to "stir the fires," however well the machinery may be running.

MISSIONARY INTELLIGENCE.

The American Board.—The annual meeting of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions is always a great event in Congregationalism—we might say the central event, to which all the churches of that communion look forward, and from which they all draw inspiration for another year of effort and sacrifice for the great cause. The departed glory of the May anniversaries, which used to make New York in that beautiful month a sort of Holy City, to which the devout of several denominations annually journeyed, is recalled by the autumnal gathering of this, the oldest of American Missionary Societies. It has no fixed place of meeting, but moves from city to city, now in the East, now in the West, refreshing nearly every section of the Congregational field with its presence. It was fitting that its seventy-fifth anniversary should be held in Boston, the head-quarters or "Hub" of Congregationalism. It was in

Bradford, near Boston, that the American Board was organized, in 1810, "for the purpose of devising ways and means and adopting and prosecuting measures for promoting the spread of the Gospel in heathen lands," and it is not surprising that the recent anniversary should have drawn together from the neighborhood of Boston, and from all parts of New England, the largest attendance known in the history of the Board. As the constitution and business methods of the American Board may not be fully known to the majority of our readers, we will explain them briefly.

The American Board is a close corporation of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. These "corporate members," so-called, are about 230 in number, and are distributed through the country in proportion to the strength of the Congregational denomination in the States. Half of them are ministers, and half laymen. At the great annual meetings of the Board the corporate members present occupy seats on the platform behind the presiding officer, and, if any vote is to be taken, the president turns his back on the audience and addresses the men behind him, who are the only ones who have the right to vote. At every meeting they elect those who shall fill up the vacancies made in their own number by death or resignation. One who leaves the denomination to join another does not thereby lose his membership. At the Boston meeting ministers who had, since their election, become pastors of Presbyterian churches were present and voted. If there be any important question of policy to be settled it is done by their vote after discussion, in which any non-voting member can, however, take part. But generally the policy of the Board is determined by the Prudential Committee, and the corporate members have little to do except to approve what has been done and to ballot for officers.

The responsibility for the conduct of the American Board rests upon the "Prudential Committee," chosen by the corporate members annually, and consisting of eleven members. Of these five are clergymen, and six laymen. They all live in Boston or its immediate vicinity, and hold weekly meetings. There has been, for years, no break in the meetings from January to January, summer included, except on the rare occasions when Tuesday falls on a holiday, as the Fourth of July, and excepting the week of the annual meeting. Every important matter is discussed by the members in rotation, beginning at the youngest, and, if necessary, going back from the oldest in reverse order. Six members constitute a quorum. The corresponding secretaries and treasurer are always present for consultation, but are not members, and have no vote. While the Prudential Committee have the entire control of the policy of the Board, subject to review by the corporate members at the annual meetings, their directions are carried out by the three corresponding secretaries and the treasurer. Great pains is taken to select corresponding secretaries who shall be men of sound judgment and highly reputed in the churches. The secretaries are not required to go about the country to meet the brethren or visit the churches, but devote themselves entirely to the duties of their office in Boston. They all attend

the annual meeting of the Board, in whatever part of the country it may be held; and perhaps once in a generation, when some especially important matter of missionary policy is to be decided, one of them visits the same foreign field. The special care of particular fields, and of the home work, is divided among them. Their salary is $3,000, of which about one half is provided by a special fund given for officers' salaries. There is an assistant secretary, who is editor of the "Missionary Herald." Two local assistant secretaries are employed, one at New York and the other at Chicago, whose duties are to distribute information.

The "Missionary Herald" is in its eighty-second year, being by many years the oldest missionary magazine in the United States, and thus antedating the claims of the oldest religious newspaper in the country. The last number before us has sixty-eight pages, besides cover and advertising pages. It is a well-edited magazine, containing miscellaneous notes, long papers, correspondence from the field, a juvenile department, the month's receipts, maps, and pictures. A dollar is charged for subscription, though it is sent free to pastors and honorary members, made such by payment of one hundred dollars. The cost of the "Herald" to the Board, including salaries of editor and general agent, was last year $18,251, of which all but $1,516 was paid by subscriptions and advertisements. Other leaflets, etc., bring up the total net cost to the Board for publications to $3,090.

The annual meetings of the Board are held in October, and alternately in the East and the West. The last meeting being held in Boston, the next will be in Des Moines, Iowa. These meetings are by far the most popular and enthusiastic missionary meetings held in the country. They begin Tuesday afternoon, and sessions are held morning, afternoon, and evening until the meeting closes Friday morning. Full accounts of the work in different missions are read by the secretaries; these are referred to their several committees, and each committee is called on in its turn for a report, which is accompanied by addresses by missionaries or other speakers. An annual sermon is delivered on Tuesday evening, and the other evenings are devoted to rousing addresses by distinguished speakers. A marked spirituality of tone always characterizes the meetings. On Thursday afternoon the Lord's Supper is celebrated. The largest hall in the city is never sufficient to hold the crowds that attend. In Boston, this year, Tremont Temple and the Music Hall and two churches were open and filled at nearly all the sessions; and three of the largest churches in the city did not suffice to seat the communicants on Thursday afternoon.

The receipts of the Board are from annual collections in the churches, from the auxiliary Woman's Board, and from legacies. The total receipts, which for the first year, ending 1811, were $999 52, were last year $656,226 88. During the last ten years two immense legacies have been received, one of over a million dollars from Asa Otis, and another of about half a million from Samuel W. Swett, a Unitarian. These sums have been expended for new or special work, so as not to discourage the ordinary gifts of the churches.

It must be remembered that this Board represents only what the four thousand Congregational churches and four hundred thousand members do for Foreign Missions. Their Home Mission-work, including that for Negroes and Indians, is under the care of two other independent societies.

The special peculiarity in the management of the American Board is, that it is responsible to no general council nor local conferences nor associations, nor yet to its own members, life or honorary. No payment of money, and no vote of any ecclesiastical body, can direct its action. It is a self-perpetuating body, like a bank. It is amenable only to public sentiment, and the fact that there has never been any serious breach of confidence on any ground speaks favorably for the administration.

The following is the summary of statistics for the year:

Missions.

Missions	22
Stations	82
Out-stations	826

Laborers Employed.

Ordained Missionaries (6 being Physicians)	156		
Physicians not ordained, 8 men and 4 women	12		
Other Male Assistants	6		
Women (wives, 147; unmar'd, besides Physicians, 101)	248		
Whole number of laborers sent from this country		422	
Native Pastors	147		
Native Preachers and Catechists	212		
Native School-teachers	1,319		
Other Native Helpers	505	2,183	
Whole number of laborers connected with the Missions			2,605

The Press.

Pages printed, as nearly as can be learned	25,000,000

The Churches.

Churches	292
Church Members, as nearly as can be learned	23,393
Added during the year, as nearly as can be learned	3,008
Whole number from the first, as nearly as can be learned	94,702

Educational Department.

High Schools, Theological Seminaries, and Station Classes	50
Pupils in the above	1,981
Boarding Schools for Girls	40
Pupils in Boarding Schools for Girls	1,690
Common Schools	803
Pupils in Common Schools	30,941
Whole number of Pupils	35,561

This table gives a succinct view of the whole work of the Board. It cannot, of course, represent the progress of the missions in self-dependence, in self-support, in liberality, in spirituality. It is to be remembered that a few years ago the Board surrendered all its work among the Indians in this country, partly to the Presbyterians and partly to the American Missionary Association. By this it lost several hundred members. Its net gain the past year was 2,216, which is nearly half the net gain reported last year for all the Congregational churches in the United States. In Africa the oldest mission, the Zulu, is furnishing laborers for the new

mission in Umzila's kingdom; in Japan 25 of the 30 churches are self-supporting; in Ceylon the work is in such a state of advance that it is hoped that it may soon be intrusted entirely to native hands; in the Maratha Mission, India, all the churches are self-supporting, and in Madura native women are doing a great work as Bible women; in Turkey, particularly Eastern Turkey, the churches are far advanced toward self-support.

THE METHODIST MISSIONARY SOCIETY.—Missionaries of the American Board were in the field about twenty years before the first Methodist missionaries were sent abroad. Our Church was engaged at home in an evangelistic work which absorbed for the time its energy, and fully employed its resources. It was a new Church, a Church of the people, and it was kept busy providing houses of worship and educational institutions and other appliances which the older denominations, like the Congregational and Presbyterian, had already at hand. Though our first foreign mission dates only from 1832, our Missionary Society goes back to 1819. The receipts for 1820, the first year, were $823, and about $75,000 had been received and disbursed for home work before the first foreign missionary, Melville B. Cox, was sent to Africa; and from its organization to the present its total income exceeds nineteen millions by more than a hundred and sixteen thousand. Our domestic missions are really seven or eight years older than our Missionary Society, and these missions were by no means confined to the English-speaking population. On the contrary, the first efforts of the society were among the French of Louisiana, and we had a flourishing mission among the Wyandots before the close of the second decade. The first appropriation for a foreign mission was to Liberia, the payment in 1833 being $834 49. This mission, which is one of the least successful of our foreign missions, has received large sums of money, the greatest being $37,233, in 1854. Year by year, as important results became less and less probable, appropriations were reduced, until they have almost reached, on the downward grade, the figures of the third year, 1835—or $3,548. Our second oldest mission is South America, begun in 1836, although 1867 is the date of the beginning of Spanish work. South America is a hard field, and may be said to rank next to Africa and Bulgaria in unproductiveness. It is by no means hopeless, but we can hardly expect a rapid growth. It is a case demanding patience and persistence. So also is Bulgaria, which has fewer results that can be measured by figures than any other of our missions. When the status of these progressive people is settled there may be an excellent opportunity to plant among them seed which will, as Bishop Hurst intimates, not only produce a bountiful harvest in Bulgaria, but find its way into Russian soil. The General Committee, in making appropriations to these and other foreign missions, carefully considered how they might so distribute the money available for foreign work as to obtain the largest results. The committee has a very delicate and difficult task, and its duties are so weighty, and the interests it must consider so numerous and diverse, that it is a

matter of wonder that it should be able to finish its annual task in six days. Most of our readers know how it is constituted: that the Bishops, the corresponding secretaries (it is an unsettled question whether the recording secretary is also a member, the committee discussing it and referring it to the General Conference), and the two treasurers are *ex officio* members; that the General Conference elects, to serve four years, a representative from each of the thirteen mission districts into which the territory of the Church is divided; and that the Board of Managers elect annually thirteen of their own members as representatives: these make a body of 12 Bishops, 4 secretaries and treasurers, and 26 representatives—in all, 42. This is not a fixed number. Vacancies in the Board of Bishops would reduce it till the succeeding General Conference. In general terms the committee has power to determine what fields shall be occupied as foreign missions, the number of persons to be employed, and the amount necessary for the support of each mission, and also to fix the sum which each Bishop may draw for domestic missions. The Bishops preside in turn. The committee must first estimate as nearly as possible the gross amount which the Church will give. Having fixed on some sum as a basis of distribution, the committee must next decide what proportion of this sum should go to foreign and what to domestic missions. In the discussion on this point both sides are sure to be forcibly presented. The sum was fixed this year at $850,000. It was then proposed that $360,000 should be appropriated to home missions, and, after considerable discussion, it was carried.

The foreign missions were first taken up, and the recommendation of the committee having charge of each particular mission was presented from the Board of Managers. The Board of Managers consists of the Bishops, secretaries, (3) treasurers, and 32 ministers and 32 laymen, elected by the General Conference, making a body of 81 members. Most of the ministers and laymen reside in New York or near by. The Board is charged with the "management and disposition of the affairs and property" of the society. It directs the management of the various foreign missions, issues instructions to missionaries and fixes their salaries, controls the purchase of real estate and the publication of necessary missionary literature, and attends to bequests and questions arising under wills, and other details financial and otherwise. Standing committees, five on the foreign and one on the domestic missions, and eight on finance, credits, publications, etc., are appointed, which report to the Board at its monthly meeting, held on the third Tuesday of every month, at 3:30 P. M. The regulations of the Board require each missionary to report to his superintendent quarterly, and each superintendent to report to the corresponding secretaries quarterly. The reports of superintendents and missionaries together with the incidental correspondence with the secretaries are, it would seem, well adapted to keep the Board fully informed of the state and progress of the various foreign missions.

The total receipts of the society for the year were $826,828, being an increase for the year of $95,702 50. The analysis of the increase as made

by the treasurer shows that of this amount $51,931 81 came by legacies, $1,924 73 by sundries, and $41,845 96 by Conferences. The million-dollar appeal must have stimulated the Church to some degree, but the receipts have been on the increase for some years, the average since 1880 being about $50,000 a year. The debt of the society has been reduced upward of $55,000, standing at $90,885 on the first of November. After the appropriations were all made, it was found that with the debt added a million of dollars were required for the coming year, and the Church is asked to provide this sum. We give a table of the specific appropriations for Foreign Missions:

Africa	$7,000	Bulgaria	$14,166
South America	29,075	Italy	29,739
China	92,774	Mexico	43,038
Germany and Switzerland	24,600	Japan	54,600
Scandinavia	51,794	Korea	9,311
North India	71,200		
South India	12,500	Total	$439,796

The appropriations for Domestic Missions were distributed as follows:

English-speaking missions administered as foreign missions	$73,200
English-speaking Conferences	203,650
German	46,700
French	1,500
Bohemian	2,800
Indian	5,950
Scandinavian	31,800
Welsh	200
Chinese	15,500
Total	$381,300
Foreign	439,796
Miscellaneous	88,019
Liquidation of Debt	90,885
Grand Total	$1,000,000

THE MAGAZINES AND REVIEWS.

Professor Torrey begins in the October "Andover" an examination of the "Théodicée" of Leibnitz. This important work, less known in our generation than it ought to be, was published in the year 1710. It was written at the request of the Queen of Prussia, Sophia Charlotte, and was intended as a reply to the philosophical and theological doubts expressed by Bayle. A valuable analysis of the argument is given, which shows how much modern writers in the same direction have followed in the path which Leibnitz marked out. These two papers almost wholly consist of an analysis of Leibnitz's opinions, while criticism and adjustment seem to be left to subsequent papers. It is an interesting fact to observe that, with regard to the origin of souls, Leibnitz decides for Traducianism,

though in a modified form. He appears also to hold to a doctrine of pre-existence of this sort—that all souls have existed in the form of organized bodies or germs since the beginning of things, and that, at the instant when the animal soul is to become a human soul, it then, for the first time, receives the additional endowment of reason by a special divine act, as he inclines to think, which he would call a kind of trans-creation. The result of reading this analysis will be to enhance the respect for Leibnitz's power, which all those familiar with his work have had for a long time.

In the October number will be found a very valuable paper by J. H. W. Stuckenberg, D.D., giving "A General Review of the Religious Condition of Germany." He pleads for a more careful examination into German religious life before it is condemned as thoroughly given over to Rationalism. He admits that the union of Church and State has been powerful in shaping the character of the Church, and that the Church has suffered from the transference of opposition to the government, being sometimes regarded contemptuously as a government police force. Instances have occurred where pastors have been appointed who were repugnant to the majority, so that the attendance at church is not to be wholly regarded as a correct gauge of the religious condition of the people. The theological teachers appointed by the State may represent the government rather than the faith of the Church whose pastors they are. The author also makes the statement that while the universal priesthood of believers has nowhere been more clearly stated as a theory, it has nowhere been more systematically ignored in practice. He admits, also, that the failure to provide for the religious needs of the people is a sad comment on the present management, illustrating this by the fact that a single church, built in Berlin in 1835, when the parish had 709 souls, is still the only church, though now there are 35,000 souls in the parish, the church holding but 400 persons. In Berlin, away from the center, there are parishes with 100,000 souls with a single church and a few pastors. He admits that the increase of churches and pastors throughout Germany has been far from keeping pace with that of the population. There is also strong testimony to the truth, which workingmen are slow to perceive, that the abandonment of the Christian Sabbath makes Sunday a day of labor for the poor. Christians and socialists have now united to oppose this destruction of the day of rest, but of course from different stand-points. Dr. Stuckenberg names, as among the more recent anti-evangelical tendencies, the following: modified forms of the old Rationalism, some of its phases being thoroughly negative and destructive, though passing under the name of exegetico-historical criticism; the pantheism of various philosophical schools; the godless pessimism of Schopenhauer and Hartmann; the communistic tendencies in natural science, largely monopolized by the development of Darwinism; and that carnal spirit misnamed socialism, being in reality selfishness deified, based on atheism and intent on destroying the ethical and religious forces of society. A godless culture above and communism below have co-operated to banish

spiritual objects, and to promote the secular and sensualistic spirit, so that Germany is now largely realistic instead of idealistic. This spirit reveals itself in an immovable indifference to spiritual things. Yet the outlook is far from being discouraging. There are country districts in which the old forms of piety are still maintained. The condition is generally better in the smaller cities than in the larger ones. In manufacturing districts the laborers usually take little or no interest in religion, but these places are not nearly so numerous as formerly. The number of evangelical ministers is greatly increased, and the statement is made on the authority of Christlieb that the rationalistic preachers consist now only of a small minority. The pulpit has become more biblical, more direct, and more practical. Even in liberal pulpits there is a great change, the stress being put upon trust in God, the love of Christ, missionary activity, and practical religion; but the writer admits that it is not true that religion has suddenly passed from a very low to a flourishing state. As the obligation to baptize children is now voluntary, the fact that the increase in the proportion of baptisms to births of children of evangelical parents in Germany has been two per cent. since 1875, is regarded as very favorable to the old evangelical Christianity. The statistics of recent years show, that throughout the empire more have come from Catholicism to Protestantism than *vice versa*. The significance of the present state of Germany is in the fact that the downward tendency has ceased, and a very strong upward one has taken its place.

The editorial development of progressive orthodoxy in this number relates to "The Christian." The most noteworthy thing in this article is the following: "Christianity invariably precedes the Christian, creating those conditions and setting in motion those agencies which act, by the co-operation of the individual will, to produce the required result in Christian character. The incarnation does not create a new value in man; it reveals to him his real worth in the thought of God. The resurrection does not confer immortality upon man; it gives him the moral advantage of immortality; it puts him under the power of the endless life."

In the November "Andover" Professor Palmer, of Harvard, attempts the vindication of the new education. The article is written in a very fair spirit, and its key-note is in the following sentence: "To those who have sound seed in themselves, who have known duty early, and have found in worthy things their law and impulse, the elective system, even during the freshman year, gives an opportunity for moral and mental expansion such as no compulsory system can afford." He admits that the new education is fully embodied in no college; that it is an influential ideal toward which all are moving, and that, side by side with the nobler tendencies, disheartening things appear.

The editorial paper is given to the Scriptures—to the question, "What is the Bible?" The article is written much in the spirit of Professor Ladd's work, is admirable, full of learning, broadly sympathetic, but somewhat cloudy.

The "Bibliotheca Sacra" for October opens with "A Study in Biblical History," by George F. Herrick, D.D., of Constantinople. The article is valuable as giving reasons for what has been a burden to the faith of some, namely, the perpetuation in the book of God, for all time and in all languages and for all races of men, of the most revolting records contained in Old Testament history. Among other reasons for their retention Dr. Herrick gives the following: "They show the capabilities of the human soul in the direction of moral evil; they show that the development of moral beings is, even for omnipotence and infinite love, a long process; they give an impressive lesson in the divine patience." The article is richly worth study.

Professor Schodde translates the "Book of Jubilees" from the Ethiopic, and has an introductory chapter. The Rev. Dr. Henry Hayman, formerly head master of Rugby School, treats of a sermon delivered at the re-dedication of the Metropolitan Church of Tyre, probably by Eusebius himself.

Dr. Brand, of Oberlin, examines the effect of England's opium policy on the missions in China, and finds that that policy is purely selfish and commercial. It justifies Christlieb's statement, that in no other heathen land has belief in the unselfishness of Christian love been made so difficult as in this land of China, groaning under the withering curse of opium.

Dr. Chambers replies to Professor Brigg's criticism of the Revised Version in an article which is very entertaining reading.

A new and interesting subject is opened in the October "Presbyterian Review" by Professor W. G. Blaikie, namely, "Christianity and the Professions." He inquires into the affinity or the want of affinity between Christianity and the chief secular professions. He regards the inquiry as difficult, but not by any means hopeless. The military profession occasionally furnishes splendid Christians. In the writer's judgment, the artist has a more difficult time in being a Christian. Secular literature is not regarded as favorable to Christian profession and conduct, and the characteristic complexion of the rank and file of our journalists and literary men is skeptical, though the poetical department of literature seems to be more congenial to Christianity. The difficulty of establishing happy relations between Christianity and science seems to be particularly great at the present time. Medical science is subject to the observation that the medical profession is inclined to unbelief. The profession of law has, as a whole, probably furnished a larger proportion than the medical, of eminent Christians. Teachers have not been prominent as Christian men in proportion to their number. Between the actual stage in the theater of to-day and the spirit of Christ there is no fellowship.

The particularly noticeable article in this number is that by Professor Gardner, which is an exposition of Lotze's Theistic Philosophy.

A large portion of the November number of the "New Englander and the Yale Review" is given up to the discussion of the present interests of Yale College. President Porter, whose resignation is to take effect at the

next commencement, discusses the charter of Yale, and the attempt to put a new interpretation upon that charter, and certainly succeeds in proving that the charter requires the control of the college by the Congregational ministers of the State of Connecticut. He is strongly in favor of following the unbroken tradition of the college, that a majority of the clerical profession should control its board of trust. We are not able to see the force of the statement that country clergymen, in relatively insignificant positions, are more likely to do good work in the controlling board than those who are in more considerable positions. We express the opinion that so many concessions have been made to advanced opinion already, that those which are demanded are quite sure to come. The college has outgrown the denomination which founded it, and has sympathies and tendencies far beyond the Congregational Church of New England. Dr. John P. Gulliver, a Congregational minister, also takes strong ground in favor of the retention of the control of Yale College by the Congregational Church of the State, holding that all the concessions which have been made have been injurious to the interests of the college. Henry C. Kingsley follows in the same line. We fear that the judgment of the inexpediency of representation from the body of graduates in the board of control is far more due to a sense of diminishing influence by the Congregational Church than to any just conception of damage to the interests of the university.

Professor Simeon E. Baldwin, of the Yale Law School, discusses the question whether the institution should be known as Yale University or Yale College. Of the contributed articles, "Current Theology," by S. S. Martin; "Witchcraft in Connecticut," by C. H. Levermore; and a review of Professor Ladd's "Doctrines of Sacred Scripture," by A. C. Sewell, are most notable. This last is rather a statement of Professor Ladd's opinions than a just criticism of them.

BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

The Pentateuch: Its Origin and Structure. An Examination of Recent Theories. By EDWIN CONE BISSELL, D.D., Professor in Hartford Theological Seminary. 8vo, pp. 484. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

The assaults made upon the Old Testament by the critical school of which Wellhausen, Kuenen, and Robertson Smith are the accepted representatives are eliciting the responses which they made necessary. It seemed at first a bold declaration to be made in favor of the integrity of the Bible and its proper authority, to say that these assaults were not to be indiscriminately rejected, nor the positions that they assumed to be condemned at wholesale, as the expressions of profane unbelief; but all this is now practically conceded by those who have undertaken to champion the cause of the Bible. These assaults made it necessary that

the defenders of the faith should accompany the assailants through the whole field of discussion, and it is well that the work has fallen into competent hands, none more so, perhaps, than his who has given us the work above named.

Dr. Bissell was first inducted into this discussion when a pupil of Delitzsch, and having since made its study a specialty, he is prepared to respond to his antagonists after having traversed the whole field, and duly considered all their arguments: and having done so, he is free to concede that the work he has taken in hand requires the conscientious study of problems of the utmost intricacy and perplexity. And while our author still holds to the conviction that "the so-called traditional view of the origin and structure of the Pentateuch is much better supported than the one now most widely current in Germany, he also confesses that he cannot beguile himself with the illusion that there are no serious difficulties still remaining to be solved." His book is therefore not designed to make an end of the subject; but instead, to contribute something to its elucidation, and that purpose it accomplishes in a highly satisfactory manner. Two things may be anticipated as almost certain to result from the now pending discussion of Old Testament themes. As to its substance, the book will remain intact; but as to its form, and the conception of its method, and its growth, there will be great changes. And to this may be added whatever modifications shall arise from the corrected theory of inspiration and the improvements in the methods of criticism and interpretation. Unquestionably the Christian thought of the age is in transition, and because these changes ought to be made under the direction of our best Christian scholars, we rejoice at the appearance of such books as that now before us.

The Ante-Nicene Fathers. Translations of the Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325. The Rev. ALEXANDER ROBERTS, D.D., and JAMES DONALDSON, LL.D., Editors. American Reprint of the Edinburgh Edition. Revised and Chronologically Arranged, with Brief Prefaces and Occasional Notes, by A. CLEVELAND COXE, D.D. Vol. I, The Apostolic Fathers: Justin Martyr, Irenæus. Pp. 602. Vol. II, Fathers of the Second Century: Hermas, Tatian, Athenagoras, Theophilus, and Clement of Alexandria (entire). Pp. 629. Vol. III, Latin Christianity: Its Founder, Tertullian. 1. Apologetic; 2. Anti-Marcion; 3. Ethical. Pp. 745. All imperial octavo. Buffalo: The Christian Literature Publishing Company.

The first of these volumes we noticed in our issue for last May, and then also considered some general features of the proposed series. The second and third volumes very satisfactorily answer to the promises made by the publishers, and to the hopes that were assured by the initial volume. The second volume extends from Hermas to Clement of Alexandria, the several writers arranged in their proper order; and the third is devoted entirely to Tertullian, and yet this does not exhaust the productions of that voluminous and versatile writer. The translation here given is in fact a recension of that of Oxford, and is a real Anglicized reproduction of the substance, as nearly as it can be made out, of the original. The En-

glish reader accordingly has a better version of Tertullian's thoughts than the author himself produced. And generally it may be said to the praise of this edition that, without sacrificing the sense or spirit of the original, the version is a decided improvement upon it in both clearness and elegance. The volumes of this edition combine, very successfully, compactness of matter with clearness and legibility. The pages are broad, with ample double columns, and clean-cut letters moderately large. A large quantity of matter, beyond what its size would promise, is by this method presented in each volume.

The publishers of this "Library" are conferring a real and a highly valuable favor upon all whose calling and studies lead them into this department of reading. Hitherto the Fathers have been known almost entirely at second-hand, for the number of well-read patristic scholars has been very small, the "crabbed Latin" of the original rendering them extremely uninviting, even to those whose classical learning might seem to qualify them for the study of such works. The authority of these writings is certainly less than formerly, but still there has lingered in the common mind the notion that there was something excellent in the words of these worthies who were so near the apostles themselves. Perhaps the actual perusal of their works will prove the most effectual means for dispelling any excess of reverence for them. But independent of their intrinsic value for doctrine or instruction, the writings of the Fathers are highly important on account of the place they hold in Church History, and all who would pursue the study of that department of knowledge must lay the foundation of the structure with materials drawn from the earliest times. Such a study will probably very sensibly diminish the reader's traditional veneration for these ancient records, which will be a wholesome emancipation, both intellectually and spiritually; and yet they will prove valuable helps toward the better understanding of many things found in the New Testament, and especially in the theological discussions that came down from that age to the mediæval Church, and which still hang as weights upon the theology and exegesis of the present times. The price at which these volumes are sold brings them within the reach of nearly every minister; and by a judicious use of his spare time the whole body of patristic learning may be compassed during the first ten years of his ministry. Could he make a better use of his opportunities?

The Blood Covenant. A Primitive Rite, and its Bearing on Scripture. By H. Clay Trumbull, D.D., Author of "Kadesh-Barnea." 8vo, pp. 350. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

This is a curious, a remarkable, and a very valuable book. The author in his reading having detected, as many others have done, the occurrence among widely separated races of men of the practice of making use of blood in covenant-making, set himself at work to find out the *nexus* by which this common practice among different peoples is connected together. In its form the book is made up of three parts, each a lecture,

somewhat enlarged for publication, and an extensive and elaborate appendix, perhaps the best part of the work. The first lecture brings together, from widely separated peoples, the evidence of the practice of making covenants with the use of blood; and by detecting its presence almost every-where, the inference is readily drawn that its source lies very deep down in human nature, or else that it is the result of a tradition brought down from the earliest times. The second lecture attempts a religio-physiological theory of the relation, or rather the identity, of the blood and the life, and from this thought deduces the notion of the union and personal intercommunion of those who become partners in the "Blood Covenant." If we are compelled to confess that in this we find a great deal that is strained and far-fetched, we must also concede that some things at once remarkable and suggestive are brought into view. The third lecture, devoted to "Indication of the Rite in the Bible," has, of course, a clear field, with abundant materials for illustrating the subject in hand; and here are found both the chief excellences and the possible misleadings of the discussions. Of course, the facts and doctrine of atonement are brought into notice, with a shadowing of the thought that the incarnation of the Logos, the transfusion of the blood, "the life," of humanity with the divine, constituted the real process of redemption, so making the sufferings of the God-man only incidental, and not directly saving in results. This is, indeed, not expressly declared, though it is pretty clearly intimated; and indeed this seems to be the logical outcome of the whole course of the thought. As is usually the case when one sets out to find proof for a theory, inferences are drawn and implications assumed that are less obvious to the reader than to their author.

The book is well written, the subject ably thought out, and the conclusions stated in a manner wholly unobjectionable. It is well that such a book has been written, and its intelligent and discriminating reading will do good.

Daniel the Prophet. Nine Lectures, Delivered in the Divinity School of the University of Oxford. With Copious Notes. By Rev. E. B. Pusey, D.D., Regius Professor of Hebrew, etc. 8vo, pp. 519. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

Dr. Pusey's Daniel is an authority in its sphere, which is also clearly defined and determined. His scholarship is conceded by all parties, and there is scarcely less unanimity in respect to his ability and his fairness as a polemic. His churchmanship, which is specifically "high" and reactionary, operates effectively upon his views and opinions as a biblical critic and exegete, so that the conflict in which he is a champion *agonist*, begins in the preliminaries of the contest. Responding to the authors of the "Essays and Reviews" of nearly forty years ago, he disputes, not so directly their conclusions, as their methods and assumptions; and in this department of the discussion he was no doubt the peer of the ablest of them. Probably a non-partisan reader, himself sufficiently master of the subjects in hand to form his own opinions respecting them, would find not a little to abate in the claims of both parties.

The Book of Daniel constituted the best possible arena for the trial of the skill and strength of the contestants; and it may be safely said that the champion of the *old* against the *new* proved his sufficiency for the work taken in hand. It is the fashion of the assailants of Christianity, whether in nature or revelation, to quietly assume that they know all about it, and that their opponents are either ignorantly or perversely blind to truth and reason; but such discussions as those presented in these lectures effectually rebukes this pretentiousness, and puts the assaulting party on the defensive. No one, therefore, can claim to be duly informed respecting the ruling principles of the case until the argument of the defense, as given by Dr. Pusey, has been heard; and when so heard, that argument will itself very widely change the aspect of the matters at issue. It is well, therefore, that a work of such decided ability as that now under notice has been brought within easy reach of all, and accordingly its publishers deserve our thanks, both for the work itself, and also for the form of plain and clear printing and substantial paper and binding in which it is issued.

Apostolic Life: as Revealed in the Acts of the Apostles. By JOSEPH PARKER, D.D., Minister of the City Temple, Holborn Viaduct, London, Author of "Ecce Deus," etc. Three volumes. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

To be able, from one's average thinkings, to produce in oral discourse what shall be at once acceptable and useful, and then to reproduce the same matter with like results in printed volumes, is a remarkable and profitable talent. And precisely that talent the "Minister of the City Temple" evidently possesses in a high degree, and this is especially manifested in his "Apostolic Life," a series of pulpit discourses extending to more than a hundred, and covering the whole of the Book of the Acts. Their manner is the freest possible. The speaker, after announcing the passage for consideration, proceeds to speak to the people without any formal introduction to the discourse, or careful exposition of the text, along the chosen line of thought as suggested by the text.

In the sermons of the last century, the "*improvement* of the text" was a special feature, and its disuse in the "preaching for the times" is a change of very doubtful value. In these discourses, however, nearly the whole matter is of the character of this "improvement." That a preacher having a reputation in view, either to be made or supported, should venture on such a method of preaching is rather marvelous, because it cannot fail to be perilous; but if it shall succeed, as certainly it does in this case, its success must be of great interest to both preacher and hearers. In reading these simple and direct discourses, with a lively conception of the conditions among which they were delivered, the personal presence and attractiveness of the speaker, and the earnest expectancy of the congregations, it is not difficult to understand how they should become a living power.

Dr. Parker's style is clear, earnest, and forcible, giving great force to the thoughts that he expresses, and his thoughts and imagery are variable

and rich, and sometimes perhaps rather brilliant than profound; and because of the wealth of words and figures employed, even commonplace thoughts are made striking by their setting. And yet in not rare instances rich clusters of gospel truth, adapted alike to awaken, persuade, and edify, will be found presented in most attractive forms. The books are easy reading, and yet they are instructive and helpful religiously, good books to read during the leisure hour.

Pastoral Theology of the New Testament. By the late J. T. BECK, D.D., Professor of Theology, Tübingen. Translated from the German by Rev. JAMES A. M'CLYMONT, B.D., Aberdeen, and Rev. THOMAS NICOL, B.D., Edinburgh. 12mo, pp. 348. New York: Scribner & Welford.

This volume is made up of lectures delivered by its author in the University of Tübingen, the character of which is indicated in the translator's preface by his saying, "They are the fruit of a life-time devoted, with rare ability and piety, to the study of Holy Scripture, and to its scientific and practical exposition." Though contemporary and a collaborator with Baur, he was of a widely different spirit, and it is believed that his influence, more largely than that of any other, tended to counteract that of Baur's destructive rationalism. The work is exceedingly learned, philosophical, and reverent, and to a moderate degree devout; but it is German in all its thinkings and methods, and not all that could be desired as to its adaptation to the necessities of theological students in this country, either in the seminary or in the active work of the ministry. And yet it is full of wholesome lessons, which may be studied with profit, as helps, rather than as rules to be implicitly followed.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

The Land and the Book; or, Biblical Illustrations Drawn from the Manners and Customs of the Scenes and Scenery of the Holy Land—Lebanon, Damascus, and Beyond Jordan. By WILLIAM M. THOMSON, D.D., Forty-five Years a Missionary in Syria and Palestine. One Hundred and Forty-seven Illustrations and Maps. 4to, pp. 711. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Probably no other publication has contributed so largely, among English-speaking readers, to the acquisition of intelligent notions respecting whatever relates to the natural aspects of Bible lands as has "The Land and the Book," first issued in two volumes nearly thirty years ago, but now re-issued complete, much enlarged and finely illustrated, in three superb volumes, the last of which just now comes to hand. Dr. Thomson writes not as a mere explorer or sight-seer, nor yet as simply a book-maker, but rather as a biblical student and commentator, drawing his expositions and illustrations of "The Book" from "The Land," its geography and topography, its fauna and flora, its seasons and climatology, its monuments and ruins. The work has been performed with singular conscientiousness and with unsparing painstaking, and the author brought to

its performance an unusual fund of definite information obtained in part by personal researches, for he traversed the whole area, much after the manner of a topographical surveyor, and in part by a thorough study of the Bible; and these acquired qualifications were rendered all the more effective by reason of his warm devotion to his subject and his natural aptitude for descriptive writing. With all these conditions so happily united, it could not be otherwise than that the work should excel in all its characteristic excellences; and it is not doing too much to claim for it the character of an authority in all its comprehensive subject, and of a classic in English literature.

Of the three volumes of the present edition, the first related exclusively to southern Palestine, Judea and Jerusalem; the second, to middle and northern Palestine, including Phenicia; while the last one treats of the outlying and vastly more extensive regions of Lebanon and Damascus and the countries lying to the eastward of the Jordan, lands whose local and historical affairs are closely interwoven with those of the Holy Land and its people, as these things appear in "The Book." Because of the wider extent and more varied aspects of these exterior regions, and also because their history is much more obscure and fragmentary, their story has an atmosphere of romance quite beyond that of the more definite histories and descriptions of Palestine proper. Such names as Lebanon and Damascus, and Gilead and Bashan, naturally bring weird suggestions, with thoughts of patriarchs and prophets and kings with whose names Bible readers are familiar, and yet of whose life-stories in their fullness they know comparatively but little. Here were the earlier abodes of Abraham, after he departed on his westward wanderings, and also the land of Uz, with its wonderful sage, renowned alike for wisdom and patience, and the birthplace of Elijah, of whose descent we know so little; and here lived and died old Barzillai. Respecting the localities of which this volume treats, the author remarks very felicitously in his Preface:

> The tours and excursions described in this volume . . . are invested with peculiar and surprising interest. Lebanon, little more to the average reader of the Bible than a vague geographical expression, is not a single mount, but a long and lofty mountain range, abounding in picturesque and magnificent scenery, from which the inspired prophets and poets of the sacred Scriptures have derived some of their most exalted imagery. And the ancient cities of the regions beyond and east of the Jordan, whose prostrate temples, theaters, colonnades, and public and private buildings amaze and astonish the modern traveler, are not mere names, but impressive realities.

This last volume is less a record of personal observations and measurements than were the earlier ones, but in their place the author has made a free and judicious use of the archæological researches of the two well-known "Palestine Exploration" associations, respectively of England and America, and of the somewhat numerous and decidedly able published accounts of recent travelers and explorers in the trans-Jordanic regions, so bringing his work down to the latest dates. The illustrations and maps add not a little to the value of the work, and the "two care-

fully prepared indexes, one of texts and one of names and subjects," will be found especially useful. We heartily congratulate the veteran author and the enterprising and liberal publishers in view of the completion of this noble work. But above all else, as those more deeply interested, we felicitate our real students of "The Book" on the possession of a help of such untold value.

Cyclopædia of Universal History. Being an Account of the Principal Events in the Career of the Human Race from the Beginnings of Civilization to the Present Time. From Recent and Authentic Sources. Complete in Three Volumes. By JOHN CLARK RIDPATH, LL.D., Professor of History in DePauw University; Author of "A History of the United States," etc. Imperial 8vo, pp. 936, 752, 658. New York: Phillips & Hunt.

Professor Ridpath had abundantly justified his claim to be regarded a master in writing history, before he issued these superb volumes, by his "History of the United States," which has become a household companion in many tens of thousands of American homes. The expectations that are warranted by the character of the earlier work in respect to this later and greater one will be more than sustained by the work itself, wherever it shall be allowed to plead its own cause through an examination of its merits. The literary qualities by virtue of which the earlier and smaller work has achieved such remarkable success are found without any diminution of excellence in this. Not only is the language pure, idiomatic English, and the style at once strong and sprightly, there is also the dramatic grouping that gives vivacity to the narrative, while the arrangement of the matter indicates large constructive abilities; and, most difficult of all, the selection of matter to be used is eminently judicious.

To arrange into a composite unity the vast amount of matter with which the writer had to deal was a work not only of very large proportions, but such as required no small share of constructive and organizing genius. A plan and method had to be adopted extending over the whole subject, and within this the multiplied details were to be disposed, and to each its proper place and proportionate space assigned. The first volume embraces the whole of what is usually termed Ancient History, coming down with the Eastern Empire to the Fall of Constantinople, devoting a "Book" each to Egypt, Chaldea, Assyria, Media, Babylonia, Persia, Greece, Macedonia, Rome. The second volume begins with the incursion of the northern barbarians into southern Europe, overrunning the Western Empire, followed by the rise of Mohammedanism and the Empire of the Caliphs. After this comes the age of Charlemagne; then in succession, the age of Feudalism, the Crusades, and the period of the Free Cities, and after these the beginnings of Modern History, with the discovery of America, the invention of Printing, and the Reformation. After these come the abundant matters of Modern History.

In the author's conception history is much more than a register of political affairs, of wars and revolutions, and of kings and dynasties. Nor is it confined to what is sometimes called the "philosophy of history," of which governmental affairs, civil and military, are the sole basis. Among

the most valuable, and also the most interesting, chapters in these volumes are those devoted to the social life of their peoples; their manner of living, the nature of their civilization, their industries, learning, and arts, and indeed all that enters into the life of the tribe or nation. The attention devoted to these things forms a marked excellence of the work.

The value of such a work does not depend at all upon original research, or the bringing out of matter not before understood, but in the orderly and felicitous presentation of what was already well known. Accordingly, the writer appears not to have forgotten at any time that his office was that of an instructor, the well-instructed scribe, bringing forth things new and old in appropriate order. And his work, as here presented, speaks well of his skill in the accomplishment of his great undertaking. He has accordingly given us a complete "cyclopædia of history"—at once full and concise—a work that cannot fail to prove a most valuable educating agency, especially adapted to family use and private reading.

History of Christian Doctrine. By HENRY C. SHELDON, Professor of Historical Theology in Boston University. In Two Volumes. 8vo, pp. 411, 444. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Histories are of two kinds. One kind is made up of the records of things, and is designed to inform its readers respecting the facts and happenings of some given place, people, or period. The excellence of this kind of history consists in the use made of the material in hand, the judiciousness of the selection of matter, so that it shall correctly image the subject treated of, and the skill brought into action in ordering and presenting the subject-matter, so that it shall be readily comprehended in its completeness. The other kind is less a history proper than a series of disquisitions, discussions, and essays, designed to illustrate the philosophy of the things detailed, and usually liberally seasoned with the sentiments and opinions of the writer. The work named above is clearly of the former of these kinds. As an instructor of young men, respecting the doctrinal phenomena of the Church, the author seems to have felt that it was his chief business to help his pupils to a knowledge of the principal events that have occurred during the ages of the Church's existence, rather than to examine each particular doctrine and adjust the relations of each to the whole. It is a teacher's production, giving information, pure and simple, much more than a series of arguments and disquisitions through which to propound and defend some special line of opinions.

As to its theological tendencies it is especially devoid of novelties, and in telling his story the writer is quite free from partisan tendencies. The distribution of the matter into "Periods," and its subdivisions into chapters, in which a good deal of arbitrariness must be exercised, is perhaps as good as any other would have been, for the old maxim, *dividere non frangere*, is only partially practicable in such a case. The style of writing is plain, idiomatic English, and usually the words are well chosen, though we regret to see that the writer employs as legitimate

English the outlandish westernism "resurrected," which even "Webster's Unabridged" stigmatizes as "low." For any who may wish to pursue the subject to which these volumes are devoted, as a learner rather than a critic, we know of no work that we can more heartily recommend.

The Religious History of Israel. A Discussion of the Chief Problems in Old Testament History, as opposed to the Development Theorists. By Dr. FRIEDRICH EDWARD KÖNIG, of the University of Leipsic. Translated by Rev. ALEXANDER J. CAMPBELL, M.A. (Barry). 12mo, pp. 192. New York: Scribner & Welford.

A well recognized and powerful school of thinkers in Germany have attempted to subject the religious life and progress of the Israelitish nation to the laws of development, in doing which they are compelled to assume that the theism, worship, and ethics of the Old Testament belong only to the later period of Israelitish history, and that it had been slowly evolved from the heathenism of earlier times. This is the theory of the teachers of the "Higher Criticism," of which Wellhausen and Kuenen are masters, and Robertson Smith an apt and able disciple; and precisely at that point, which is the crucial one in the controversy, König antagonizes them, and seeks to prove that the ruling religious ideas of the Prophets and Psalms are clearly detected in the whole history of the Hebrew people. The argument, though closely compacted in this little volume, is still sufficiently full and very satisfactory. He shows that the ethical code, the spiritual conceptions, and the institutions of worship, that stand out so closely in the historical and didactic Scriptures, are also unmistakably indicated in the recognized religious consciousness of the nation, from Abraham downward.

The dissecting and constructing process, now so fully applied to the Old Testament, is here gone into with an unconstrained hand, and with only the faintest respect to the traditional sacredness of the ancient records; and yet our author contends and proves that there are abundant evidences that all that belongs essentially to the religion of the days of the prophets was in full force and authority in the times of the patriarchs and of the judges of Israel. That point, here so sharply contested, is a pivotal one, and its defense in this little volume is all that could be desired, though many of the author's minor concessions to German rationalistic thinking are gratuitous on his part, and not at all a necessary part of his general argument.

The Boy Travelers in South America. Adventures of Two Youths on a Journey through Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, Brazil, Paraguay, the Argentine Republic, and Chili. With Descriptions of Patagonia and Terra del Fuego, and Voyages on the Amazon and La Plata Rivers. By THOMAS W. KNOX, Author of "The Young Nimrods in North America," etc. Illustrated. 8vo, pp. 510. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Mr. Knox's books for boys, which by successive additions have become a library of travels, with sketches of manners and customs, and descriptive of objects of natural history, are among the very best of their class. Their narrative style, with enough of novelty and adventure to insure unflag-

ging interest, offers the requisite attractions, while the valuable information given makes the books in a wide sense educational manuals. With the whole continent of South America for its field, it is of course necessary in this work to pass over large portions very rapidly, and to leave many interesting things unsaid; and yet, after carefully pursuing this journey in the quiet of his home, with the guide and companions here presented, any intelligent boy will be able to form clear and pretty correct notions of the chief features of that vast and fertile, though but little known, portion of the earth's surface. As this is among the earliest to appear of the books designed especially for the coming holiday season, so it will, no doubt, continue to be among the very best. Such books in the family where there are boys and girls can scarcely fail to be of very great utility.

The Newton Lectures for 1885. The Hebrew Feasts, in their Relations to Recent Critical Hypotheses Concerning the Pentateuch. By WILLIAM HENRY GREEN. Professor in Princeton Theological Seminary. 12mo, pp. 329. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers.

The "Newton Lectures" are the fruits of an endowment providing for an annual course, to be delivered under the direction of the Faculty of Newton Theological Seminary (Baptist), "by teachers connected with other seminaries" before the students of that institution. The choice for the last course fell upon Professor Green, of Princeton, whose recognized scholarship, as well as his conservative modes of thought, gave assurance of an altogether wholesome production. The Jewish festivals were chosen as a theme especially well adapted to prove and illustrate the character of Hebrew worship and religious observances, and so to demonstrate the presence of the things taught in the earlier Scriptures among the Hebrews, from the earliest times. The least that can be said of these Lectures is, that they effectually demur to the hasty conclusions that have been demanded by those who claim that the Levitical system was chiefly a modern creation. They say to any and all who have been inclined to accept the findings of Wellhausen, Kuenen, and Company, "Hear the other side;" and having done so, they will also be persuaded to reconsider the whole subject.

The Period of the Reformation, 1517 to 1548. By LUDWIG HÄUSSER. Edited by WILHELM ONCKEN, Professor of History at the University of Geissen. Translated by MRS. G. STURGE. New edition, complete in one volume. 12mo, pp. 702. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers.

This work comes to the public through a kind of triple authorship. The nucleus is Häusser's lectures, first delivered about 1860, which, having been roughly sketched from the speaker's lips by Professor Oncken, the matter was by him some eight or ten years later wrought into shape and supplemented, so that his fragmentary notes were changed into a continuous treatise, written out in the German language for German readers. And later—about ten years ago—the whole was rendered into English, with the sanction of the editor, by an accomplished English writer. The

period covered by this volume is among the most intensely interesting in the world's history, and its treatment of the times and seasons, with their persons and events, is worthy of the subject. It is altogether a tale of faith and indomitable zeal, and of vile intrigues and horrible persecutions, the whole closing with the establishment of a peace bought with abundant labors and sufferings. The work is a monograph of very great value.

The Life and Times of Levi Scott, D.D., One of the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church. By JAMES MITCHELL, D.D. With a Preface by Rev. D. P. KIDDER, D.D., LL.D. 12mo, pp. 272. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe.

The memoirs of our Bishops are becoming a very considerable library, valuable both for their historical memoranda and as stimulants to right living. This one of Bishop Scott, drawn up by the skillful and appreciative hand of a member of his own family, will rank favorably with its fellows. No better specimen of a Christian Bishop is portrayed in any one of them.

The Fall of Constantinople. Being the Story of the Fourth Crusade. By EDWIN PEARS, LL.B., Late President of the European Bar at Constantinople, etc. 8vo, pp. 422. New York: Harper & Brothers.

The "Fall" of which the history is here given is not that by which Constantinople passed from Christian to Mohammedan rule under the Turkish conqueror, Mohammed Bodjauk, but an earlier revolution, in which the Greek Empire was overthrown by the Crusaders during the first half of the twelfth century. This epoch constitutes a distinct chapter in European history, and it is one that has often been but very slightly considered by historical writers. Its isolated character especially adapts it to a separate treatment in the form of a monograph, which is the character of the work now before us. The author's position gives him the best possible opportunities for the work he has taken in hand, and to which he has certainly brought excellent personal qualifications. The work has also evidently been prosecuted as a labor of love. It will be read as a learned recreation, with equal profit and pleasure.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Nearly thirty years ago Mrs. Caroline R. Wright issued her little volume of "Scripture Lessons." How it has been received and appreciated is best shown in the fact that a new edition—the fifth—has just appeared. Though in the form of questions and answers, it is quite unlike ordinary Sunday-school question books, but instead, a succinct catechetical Bible history in a form and style adapted to the use of the young. It is especially suitable for the Bible class in the family. (18mo, pp. 174. New York: Phillips & Hunt.)

Phillips & Hunt publish for the use of Sunday-schools during the year 1886:

1. *The Senior Lesson Book* (Berean Series, No. 1), on the International Lessons. 16mo, pp. 208.

2. *The Berean Question Book* (No. 2). 16mo, pp. 184.

3. *The Berean Beginner's Book* (No. 3). 16mo, pp. 218. 15 cents each.

All prepared under the care of Dr. Vincent, which fact sufficiently guarantees their excellence.

Hand-Book Upon Church Trials. By Professor L. T. TOWNSEND, Boston University. Paper, 18mo, pp. 75. New York: Phillips & Hunt.

This little manual, we are told, was first prepared as a lecture for students in theology, and it is now issued for wider use. As its author is neither a law-maker nor an administrator of law, his opinions have no other authority than the private judgments of one whose experience in the things of which he writes is not large. There are much better books extant on the same subject, and easily accessible.

From Boston to Bareilly and Back. By WILLIAM BUTLER. 12mo, pp. 512. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe.

It is not often granted to any man, after initiating such a work as the Methodist Episcopal missions in North India, and then turning it over to others, to visit it again after the lapse of a quarter of a century, and to see the ripening harvest from his early planting, as was the case with Dr. Butler in the journey abroad of which the book above named is the record. If in such a record there should seem to be something of the *magna pars fui*, even that is at most a wholly venial offense. The account given in these pages is vivacious and life-like, at once attractive and instructive, and the book is a valuable contribution to our missionary literature.

A Summer in the Rockies. By ANNA E. WOODBRIDGE, Author of "Jessie and Ray." 18mo, pp. 341. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe. New York: Phillips & Hunt.

The Thread of Gold. By Mrs. C. E. WILBUR. 18mo. pp. 172. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe. New York: Phillips & Hunt.

Two decidedly agreeable books, written in the popular narrative and dialogue style.

HARPER'S HANDY SERIES. (Latest Issues.)—*In Quarters with the 25th (The Black Horse) Dragoons.* By J. S. WINTER.—*Musical History.* By G. A. MACFARREN.—*Primis in Indis.* By M. J. COLQUHOUN.—*The Sacred Nugget.* By B. L. FARJEON.—*The Royal Mail.* Its Curiosities and Romance. By JAMES WILSON HYDE. Illustrated.—*The Ghost's Touch, and Other Stories.* By WILKIE COLLINS.—*The Dark House.* By G. MANVILLE FENN.—*Malthus and His Work.* By JAMES BONAR, M. A.—*Self-Doomed.* By B. L. FARJEON.—*Houp-la.* By JOHN STRANGE WINTER. Illustrated.

HARPER'S FRANKLIN SQUARE LIBRARY. (Latest Issues.)—*What's His Offense?* By the Author of "The Two Miss Flemings."—*The Unforeseen.* By ALICE O'HANLON.—*White Heather.* By WILLIAM BLACK.—*My Wife's Niece.* By the Author of "Dr. Edith Romney."—*Babylon.* By CECIL POWER.—*Mrs. Hollyer.* A Novel. By G. M. CRAIK.—*A Strange Voyage.* By W. CLARK RUSSELL.—*The Courting of Mary Smith.* By F. W. ROBINSON.—*In Sunny Lands.* By WILLIAM DRYSDALE. Illustrated.—*Adam Bede.* By GEORGE ELIOT. Illustrated

The holiday season will produce very few better art publications than the Christmas number of the "Art Journal," which is also made to serve as "The Art Annual for 1885," being also a sketch of the life and the principal works of Sir John E. Millais, beautifully and liberally illustrated with engraved reproductions of some of his most celebrated paintings. Millais stands at the head of the recently revived pre-Raphaelite school in England, with Holman Hunt for his second, who is still more pronounced in the realism of his sketches. There is in these pictures a wholesome naturalness, with the absence of every thing at all meretricious, which constitutes their highest excellence. The letter-press matter gives a sketch of the man, and especially of his career as an artist, with satisfactory ability and completeness.

Pepper and Salt; or, Seasoning for Young Folks. Prepared by HOWARD PYLE. 4to, pp. 116. New York: Harper & Brothers.

The making of books for the holidays has made more than a single revolution since the "Annual" and the "Rhymes for the Nursery" constituted the whole provision. With the advance of wealth and luxury a higher and better style of art has come into general use, and with this has come also something that will afford amusement as well as give instruction. Both of these requirements are responded to in this volume. It is elegantly, even sumptuously, "gotten up," alike in pictures and printing, and in paper and binding. The ruling characteristic of the matter is "drollery;" the method is the use of odd stories and ballad-tales, sometimes witty, and less frequently wise, but often so consummately without meaning as to present a kind of sublimity of non-sense, that is not altogether unwholesome.

A Larger History of the United States of America, to the Close of President Jackson's Administration. By THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON, Author of "Young Folks' History of the United States." Illustrated by Maps, Plans, Portraits, and other Engravings. 8vo, pp. 470. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Colonel Higginson has some excellent qualifications for writing history, especially his faculty for grouping events, and so of presenting and sustaining a lively narrative style, which aids largely in understanding and retaining his statements. This volume is chiefly to be valued as a concise but comprehensive summary of the beginnings of the nation, to which part, coming down to the inauguration of the first president, more than two thirds of the volume is devoted. The record of the first quarter-century of the completely organized national life is necessarily very brief and incomplete, but it is sketchy and vivacious. For the design evidently aimed at the work is fairly well adapted, and will serve a good purpose.

White Heather. A Novel. By WILLIAM BLACK, Author of "Judith Shakespeare," etc. 12mo, pp. 497. New York: Harper & Brothers.

There are no longer any novelists of the first-class, of which were Dickens and Thackeray, George Eliot and Anthony Trollope; but of the surviving second-class William Black is at or near the head.

My Sermon Notes. A Selection from Outlines of Discourses Delivered at the Metropolitan Tabernacle. With Anecdotes and Illustrations. By C. H. SPURGEON. From Ecclesiastes to Malachi. 12mo, pp. 378. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers.

A wonderful man is Charles H. Spurgeon, and the work he is doing is marvelous alike for its abundance and its results. A look through these "Notes" will show the secret of his power to be in his perpetually abiding in the word of God.

A Baptist Meeting-House: The Staircase to the Old Faith; the Open Door to the New. By SAMUEL J. BARROWS. 12mo, pp. 221. Boston: American Unitarian Association.

This little work is semi-biographical, a record of the author's mental and spiritual experience, in which an orthodox Baptist became a Unitarian. It is made pretty clear that the man became a Christian under Baptist influences, and upon the religious forces thus gathered he continued to go forward, it may be hoped to the end. A converted man may become a Unitarian and not wholly fall from grace; but the case of him who is neither a converted man nor an intellectual believer in orthodox truth is much less hopeful.

"*As We Went Marching On.*" A Story of the War. By G. W. HOSMER, M.D. 18mo, pp. 310. New York: Harper & Brothers.

The time of this story appears to be about the middle period of the war of the rebellion; the locality, northern Virginia and western Maryland. The persons and events, though sufficiently interesting, are still only commonplace, such as might have been duplicated, in all their chief features, a thousand times. It is written in good English, and with a fair share of vivacity, and may be read as an agreeable pastime.

The Chautauquan: A Monthly Magazine, Devoted to the Promotion of True Culture. Organ of the Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle. Vol. V. From October, 1884, to July, 1885. THEODORE L. FLOOD, Editor and Proprietor. 4to, pp. 516. The Chautauqua Press, Meadville, Pa.

The appearance of the bound volume of the Chautauquan brings the publication within the sphere of the reviewer, and we accordingly give it a passing notice. As the "organ" of the widely-known "C. L. S. C.," it is, of course, "known and read of," not all, but many, men, women, and children. But it is not a child's book, nor yet a compilation of light reading, but, like every thing else belonging to Chautauqua, it is in dead earnest. Both its general tone and its substance-matter have a marked affinity for the reading of the "Literary and Scientific Circle," but with greater freedom of scope and a wider range of topics. There is science made easy, but not, therefore, the less truly scientific; there are history and biography, educational notes, and hints in agriculture, temperance talks, and poetry—a compact household library between two lids. But we need not bespeak for it the public favor, for that is assured by the hundred thousand Chautauquans and their friends. We heartily congratulate all concerned in view of a splendid success.

Atonement and Law: or, Redemption in Harmony with Law as Revealed in Nature. By J. M. ARMOUR. 8vo, pp. 240. Philadelphia: Christian Statesman Publishing Co.

This work consists of a restatement, with some variations of method, of the more specifically orthodox views of the great doctrine of atonement by Christ, including substitution and satisfaction. The objectionable forms in which what has been called the "commercial theory" of the atonement have been avoided, but without at all giving up its substance —the notion of something given for something received — a veritable *redemption*, which is in some sense, and to some degree, *commercial*. These views are clearly and forcibly presented, and the whole expression of the book is wholesome and edifying.

American Commonwealths—Kansas: The Prelude to the War for the Union. By LEVERETT W. SPRING, Professor in the Kansas University. 12mo, pp. 334. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, & Co.

Kansas is a young State, but it has a history of the most intense interest. It is well that the stirring events of thirty years ago, and later, which at length spread out into the great war of the rebellion—of which they were the first acts, rather than simply the prelude—should be collated and set out in order for future times while they are yet fresh in the minds of their actors.

A Layman's Study of the English Bible. Considered in its Literary and Secular Aspects. By FRANCIS BOWEN, LL.D., Professor in Harvard University. 12mo, pp. 145. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

This is a collection, not of pleas or polemics, but of meditations—calm and discursive considerations of a variety of subjects—side thoughts, brought into view in the Bible. First of all, we have a discussion of the purely literary claims of the Bible, in which its claim as an "English classic" is asserted and justified. Next the "Old Testament Narratives" are considered, and their high character as embodiments of very fine sentiment skillfully delineated is clearly demonstrated. After this, the parables of our Lord and the Gospel narratives receive the same treatment. And then we have in order the Philosophy, the Poetry, and the History of the Bible, with a concluding thought on the "Institutions of Moses." The outcome of these successive meditations is, that the Bible with which we have been familiar from childhood, and from whose teachings our conceptions of religious things have been drawn, is quite too well sustained by its own evidence to be lightly set aside.

Strange Stories from History. For Young People. By GEORGE CARY EGGLESTON, Author of "Red Eagle," etc. Illustrated. 16mo, pp. 243. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Mr. Eggleston has a faculty for detecting and delineating curious and interesting historical incidents. He here brings into a neat volume more than a dozen "stories"—really scraps of history, chosen from a very wide range—and to these are added half a dozen "biography stories," much of the same in character and substance with what precedes them. The work will be read with interest.

The Lesson Commentary on the International Sunday-school Lessons for 1886. By Rev. JOHN H. VINCENT, D.D., and Rev. J. L. HURLBUT, M.A. 8vo, pp. 309. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe.

Those who are using the "Lesson Commentary" for the current year will be satisfied with the simple announcement of that here named; for those who have not seen that, we may say that of the many expositions and "helps" for the better understanding of the International Lessons we have found none that appear any better to answer to the demands of the case than those of Messrs. Vincent and Hurlbut. The expositions, in most cases expressed in words selected from some well-known and approved commentary—usually of a recent date—Whedon, Ryle, Westcott, the Cambridge Bible, and good old Matthew Henry *et. al.*—are clear and concise, giving the manifest and common-sense meaning of the text, and nothing more. Every Sunday-school teacher should have a copy.

Defense and Confirmation of the Faith. Six Lectures. Delivered before the Western Theological Seminary in the Year 1885, on the Foundation of the Elliott Lectureship. 12mo, pp. 201. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

These lectures are the productions of some of the ablest men of our day —Drs. Wm. M. Taylor, Carroll Cutter, S. J. M'Pherson, Nathaniel West, Henry C. M'Cook, and Rev. S. F. Scovel. Each lecturer pursues his own course of argument, and yet there is no disharmony of parts in the common unity. Without attempting to embrace the whole subject of Christian apologetics, they very satisfactorily cover the chief points in the field.

Dr. Deems's Sermons: Forty-eight Discourses, Comprising every Sunday Morning Sermon Preached from the Pulpit of "The Church of the Strangers," by the Pastor. 8vo, pp. 304. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

Sermons by T. De Witt Talmage, Author of "Crumbs Swept Up," etc., delivered in the Brooklyn Tabernacle. Phonographically Reported and Revised. First Series. 12mo, pp. 405. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

Sermons whose preachers' names and the names of the churches in which they were delivered are sufficiently notable to stand foremost in the titles of the volumes in which they are printed are outside of the usual range of criticism. Both Dr. Deems and Mr. Talmage are well-known and highly-respected preachers, who have given renown to their several pulpits. The sermons of the former volume were printed and pretty widely circulated some years since; they now appear somewhat revised, and their success in the earlier edition is a pledge of a continued demand. Mr. Talmage will not want an audience nor readers for whatever may issue from the pulpit of "the Tabernacle." The words "First Series" in the title contains a promise and a prophecy. Personally we have very little use for printed sermons, having had to do with that form of literature in its earlier manifestations. But sermon readers will appreciate these.

HARPER'S YOUNG PEOPLE for 1885 is issued as a bound volume, and so makes a capital holiday book for boys and girls—especially for boys. Its reading matter, though purposely avoiding every thing severe, and only furtively didactic, is wholesome as well as amusing; its poetry is

above the character of doggerel, and its pictorial illustrations are decidedly good in their subjects, design, and execution. It will no doubt gladden many a boy's heart on Christmas morning.

Natural Theology; or, Rational Theism. By M. VALENTINE, D.D., ex-President of Pennsylvania College, and Professor of Theology in the Lutheran Theological Seminary, Gettysburg, Pa. 12mo, pp. 274. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co.

The methods of "Natural Theology" have greatly changed since Paley wrote his famous, and, indeed, admirable, treatise on the subject, and the change is certainly for the better. In this little volume Professor Valentine presents, in very concise statements, the arguments in favor of the being of God, which the rational understanding requires; and these, we are free to add, meet all reasonable demands. The atheistic argument begins with the unallowable denial of the supernatural as a factor in the problem, which of course rules out all possible theistical evidence; but granting, as must be done, a Power above mere nature, systematic theology becomes only a matter of details. Arguments from the natural side the author treats in an able and satisfactory manner. The smallness of the volume recommends it as a hand-book.

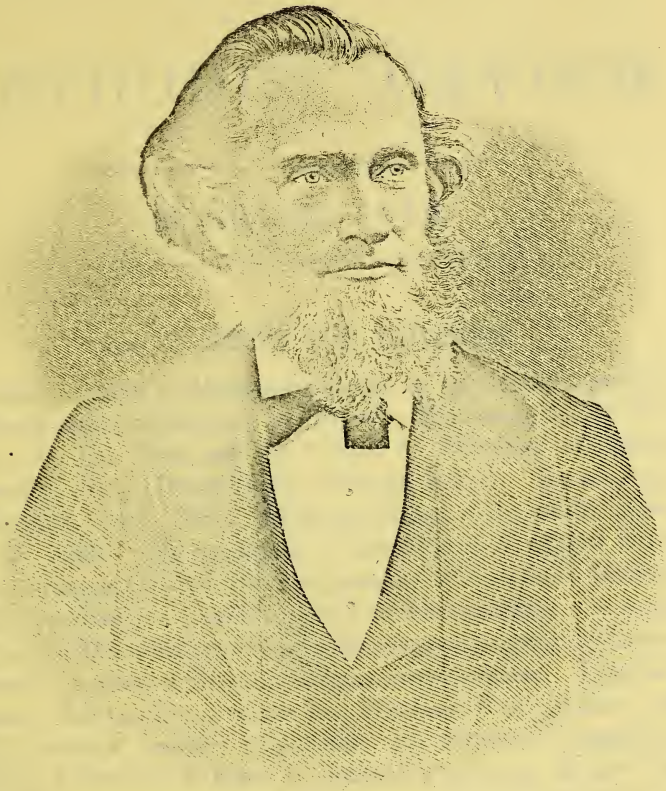
The Unrivaled Cook-Book, and Housekeeper's Guide. By MRS. WASHINGTON. 12mo, pp. 623. New York: Harper & Brothers.

A reviewer cannot be supposed to be a master of the mysteries of cooking, however well he may be persuaded of the value of the art, and its intimate relations to civilization and religion. This volume is at once large and well filled, and probably very good of its kind, for Virginians of former times were masters of the gastronomic arts. The name given as that of the author, though it belongs to Virginia, is confessedly fictitious, appropriated as ex-slaves have often taken and borne the name of the Father of His Country.

Sermons on the Christian Life. By JOHN DEWITT, D.D., Professor of Church History, Lane Theological Seminary. 12mo. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Specifically these are not exactly sermons, for lack of the peculiar homiletical and hortatory elements which are essential characteristics of the pulpit address. But as essays on Christian experience and duty, they are worthy of great praise, being sound in doctrine and both pure and elevated in moral tone. But, as is the case with most of the "preaching for the times," the ethical rather than the evangelical spirit is chiefly manifested in them. By common consent, and perhaps largely unconsciously, the great fundamental doctrine of the Reformation—Justification by Faith—seems to be losing its hold upon both the heart and the mind of the Church.

The Seven Wonders of the New World. In One Volume. With Illustrations. By Rev. J. K. PECK, A.M. 12mo, pp. 320. Price, $1 25. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe.



James Elijah Latimer

METHODIST REVIEW.

MARCH, 1886.

ART. I.—DEAN J. E. LATIMER.

PROBABLY no man in Methodism filled so important a position with such signal ability and yet drew so little attention to himself as the late Dean of the School of Theology of Boston University—Rev. James Elijah Latimer, S.T.D. He was born at Hartford, Conn., Oct. 7, 1826, and died at Auburndale, Mass., Nov. 27, 1884. The ignorance of the Church in regard to one of the foremost scholars the first century of Episcopal Methodism has produced is a striking proof of his humility. It never occurred to Dean Latimer to prepare any autobiographical notes, or even to preserve a file of his large correspondence. This fact, together with the fact that his life, like that of all scholars, was mainly interior, renders impossible any extended biography. Happily, however, he came in contact with some of the best minds of his generation, and the varying impressions of these witnesses may possibly enable those who never knew him to obtain a more life-like picture of the man than a volume of dry details could give. The impression he produced was so clear and simple, and the independent estimates of his character are so accordant, that our readers are in no danger of being confused by conflicting opinions.

We begin with a charming sketch of Dr. Latimer's boyhood from a letter of reminiscences written by his gifted wife; a sketch so full of interest that one might wish she had carried forward the story to its close.

At the time of Mr. Latimer's birth his father was a teacher. Soon afterward the family moved to Brooklyn, N. Y. Here the father

opened a private school, which James attended at a very early age. When five and a half years old his mother took him to see his Connecticut relations, *via* the Sound. Upon the boat a gentleman took a fancy to the little fellow, and asked him various geographical questions of constantly increasing difficulty. Finding all his replies accurate, the stranger at last said, "Can you tell me where the city of Hardscrabble is?" The child paused a moment to think, and then promptly answered, "That, sir, is not down upon my map." When eight years old the boy was studying both Latin and Greek, but was not for a moment allowed by his discreet parents to think that his scholarship was in any way remarkable. There was, indeed, a striking incongruity between his scholarship and his deportment. His boyish gleefulness and wit were irrepressible; and upon one occasion, after a most commendable translation from the Fifth Book of Cæsar, he was corrected for inciting the entire school to laughter by one of his mirth-provoking sallies. At eleven years of age the youthful student had mastered all the arithmetics of the day without unusual effort, and commencing algebra, was charmed with the new exercise. Before this period of his life his father had entered the ministry of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and had commenced preaching in western New York. His parents were both scholarly, and retained their habits of reading and study throughout the ceaseless duties attending the bringing up of seven children and the busy cares of itinerant life. The appointments of the father were a source of great joy to the family, as they brought the children to the first schools and academies in that part of the State. Teachers began to employ the young linguist and mathematician as private assistant, giving him his tuition for the help he rendered those less advanced in study, though far more advanced in age and size. At twelve years of age he was prepared for college. As he could not enter at so early an age, employment was found for him in a dry-goods store. Here he was surrounded by fine influences, and gave excellent satisfaction to his employers. It was during this apprenticeship to business that he gave his heart to God. His conversion took place during a revival of remarkable power. He declared that until this time he had steeled his heart against all the influences of home persuasion and revival force, feeling that if he became a Christian he must forsake his plan of studying law, and commence in the school of the prophets as a preparation to join the humble ranks of the Methodist itinerants.

Probably the needs of a Methodist preacher with a large family, and the necessity the boy was under of earning in part, at least, the money for his college course, were the chief reasons of the long interval between his preparation for college and his entrance at Wesleyan University. This impression is confirmed

by the fact that while attending college he taught school during the winter months. But the fact that the boy could wait and work from twelve to eighteen, and not abate by one jot his purpose of going to college, shows perhaps as clearly as his later acquisitions his life-long love of knowledge. His classmate and friend, the Rev. Daniel Steele, D.D., gives this vivid picture of young Latimer's college days:

> It was in the autumn of 1844, in the middle of the first term of the year in Wesleyan University, that a light-haired boy of eighteen came into the freshman class. We pitied him for beginning the college race under the disadvantages of his late entrance. But when he was called upon to recite our commiseration was changed to admiration. He was master in all the departments of the old, severe curriculum, and that, too, without apparent effort. He soon projected a parallel course of elective studies, and read Aristophanes's comedies as a kind of sauce to the more solid food of the required Greek tragedies. He also mastered the French and German languages, which were then no part of the college course, required or elective. The extended mathematical course—a daily exercise, without omission, for four years—was only pastime to his sharp and rapid intellect. Meantime he was an omnivorous reader, devouring more books than any half-dozen of his fellow-students. And yet he was no recluse nor book-worm, shutting himself up in the cocoon of unsocial reserve, but a man of affairs, a jovial companion, a brilliant conversationalist, and a ready debater.

While he studied many subjects not included in the college course, yet the thoroughness of his work is evidenced in later life. From the time he left college down to the day of his death he read both the French and German languages fluently; and during a visit to Europe found himself able to converse intelligently with German professors, and to understand lectures at the Sorbonne in Paris.

Young Latimer was graduated a few weeks before he was twenty-two, under the presidency of Dr. Olin. He was at the beginning of what may be called the second stage of Methodist history in the United States. The Methodist Church had proved one of the grandest recruiting offices for the Lord's militant host of any organization since the days of the apostles. But it had a larger mission to fulfill along with its revival work. Whether or not Wesley clearly foresaw the full mission of Methodism and heartily planned for a permanent, separate

ecclesiastical organization, Asbury and Coke at least saw great possibilities for the infant Church in the new nation. It represented not simply new methods of revival work, but a new theology, which they believed might be made a permanent, if not the dominant, type of faith in the New World. Accordingly they built churches, administered the sacraments, founded colleges, and prepared for the permanent occupation of the country. The repeated destruction by fire of the first college buildings of the Methodist Church in the New World awakened a doubt in the minds of these godly men as to whether their broader plans, especially in the line of education, were in accord with divine providence. These doubts, together with the lack of funds and the demands of direct evangelistic work, delayed the educational interests of Methodism for a generation. But holding and training our converts was the logical sequence of winning them, especially as our theology differed from that of the established Churches; and so this second stage in our history was inevitable and providential. Fisk, Olin, Ruter, Caldwell, and others began founding and developing institutions of learning. Latimer, inheriting scholarly tastes, coming under the inspiration of the sainted Fisk and the direct personal influence of the mighty Olin, responded with alacrity not simply to the general call to Christian service, but to the special work of elevating the standard of consecrated learning in the Church, and so preparing her children to make permanent and final the triumphs of our Lord. Accordingly, from twenty-two to twenty-three he was teacher of languages at Newberry Seminary, Vt. From twenty-three to twenty-five he taught Latin and geology at the Genesee Wesleyan Seminary at Lima, N. Y. When twenty-five he was made Principal of the New Hampshire Conference Seminary, then situated at Northfield, N. H.; and at twenty-eight he was promoted to the headship of the larger and more flourishing Seminary at Fort Plain, N. Y. Soon after this, an interdenominational seminary was founded at Elmira, N. Y., called the Elmira Female College, and Mr. Latimer was at once chosen to represent the Methodist scholarship of the Empire State in the professorship of languages. His success in his chosen calling is shown by the fact that during his first thirteen years' service as a teacher he was five times promoted. During this period

he largely shaped the intellectual and spiritual life of many of the most talented and earnest young people in Methodism, as well as of others outside the Church.

While teaching at the Genesee Seminary he first met Miss Anna Ross, then a pupil at the school. Their acquaintance and friendship ripened into love, and resulted in their marriage, four years later, when he was Principal of the New Hampshire Conference Seminary. She was so well fitted for her new sphere that she taught with him at the Fort Plain Seminary, and later at the Elmira Female College. Her companionship was an unfailing antidote to any discouragement on his part, and the delights of his home probably prolonged his life and usefulness many years.

Other influences in addition to study and teaching contributed to the enlargement and ripening of his powers. It was doubtless a great advantage to him that he was born in a large Christian family, and was trained from infancy to stand in Christian relations to the other members of the household. The unity of purpose and the distinctively Christian character of the family is seen in the fact that all of the brothers and sisters entered upon an open Christian life; while James and the youngest brother, Edward, followed the father into the ministry, and the youngest sister is a missionary in Mexico. But his affectional and spiritual nature was ripened, not simply by family fellowship and a happy marriage, but also by deep personal losses. Every college student is called to settle for himself or herself the problem of the relation of study to health, to find the golden mean between intellectual sloth upon the one side and a broken constitution upon the other. Like many lofty souls young Latimer erred upon the side of earnestness. He contracted dyspepsia from overwork at college, a disease which the heavy responsibility of his teaching developed into a life-long torment. He also suffered intensely from heart disease. The loss of a sister and the frailty of his own tenure of life did not embitter him, but contributed rather to develop that humility, indifference to earthly honor, and that spirituality which in later life were so finely blended with his marvelous learning. He had been converted, as his wife narrates, at thirteen, and he never fell back from that boyhood conversion. But, while he was outspoken in his religious convictions in col-

lege, he was at that time more noted for intellectual than for spiritual attainments. His religion seemed at this period of his life more a code of duties which he strove to fulfill than that joy in the Lord which is one's spiritual strength. But this joy in the Lord came while he was teaching, not so much by any great crisis as by a deepening of his spiritual experience, and by the frequent coming of the Holy Spirit to him and to his pupils. What wonder that this deepening experience brought to him, as it has brought to hundreds of other teachers, a longing for the more directly spiritual work of the Christian ministry!

Again, while the family had enjoyed the father's pastoral charges, it must be remembered that the itinerancy, with its surrender of self-direction and its possibilities of personal disappointment, had made his call to the ministry in boyhood a dreaded but lofty summons. He was now escaping this stern feature of the ministry in the apparently more independent and less heroic work of the teacher. So the itinerancy, with its demand for self-sacrifice and heroism, was constantly appealing to his noblest impulses, and he felt that his offering to God was not quite complete until he was enrolled in the ranks of the traveling preachers.

For eight years he was in the active ministry; serving the most important churches in his Conference with rare acceptability, and with ever-increasing power. He was stationed at the First Church in Elmira, at Asbury and the First Church in Rochester, and at the church in Penn Yan.

His sermons in general were thoughtful, attractive, and inspiring. Yet this modern St. John was a son of thunder too, as with stern and prophetic messages, delivered at times with the charge of preaching politics ringing in his ears, he portrayed at the on-coming of the Civil War the spirit and the outcome of the great slavery contest.

These years seemed to him, in memory at least, the idyllic period of his life. He delighted in after years to recount the various haps and mishaps of pastoral life, and more than once he remarked, at the close of these reminiscences: "I wish I had spent my life in the pulpit and the pastorate." Those who knew him only as a teacher felt that he was divinely called to bear the standard of Christian education in our Church, and some

regarded the diversion into the active ministry as a mistake. He himself was inclined to consider teaching his proper vocation. On the other hand, those who listened to his preaching often contended that the pulpit was his throne, and that, had he devoted his life to the ministry, Methodist history would have been enriched by a preacher combining the learning of Adam Clarke with something of the eloquence of Summerfield. Whether or not a great career might have opened for him in the ministry, it is impossible to say. Occasional sermons, preached when he was deeply moved, when his imagination was kindled, and his thought was melted by emotion, revealed a power of which some more formal discourses before Boston audiences gave scarcely a hint. He certainly was not largely gifted with the magnetic personal presence, the ready emotion, and the creative imagination which make platform speaking a fairly successful calling to men of a certain temperament. He so despised mere effect that he usually checked the emotion that naturally arose within him. He had, on the other hand, a wealth of learning, an ease in recalling and using it without ostentation and almost without effort, a chaste and classical style, a tender nature, a child-like manner, a love for the spiritual side of all truth, and a lofty conscientiousness, which, all combined, made the fair, frail man seem at times like a messenger from God, all the more inspired from his very humility and his utter freedom from all rhetorical arts.

In 1868–69, he spent a year with his wife in Europe. While in Germany he applied for private instruction in philosophy to Professor Erdmann, of Halle, then at the height of his philosophic fame. He went to the professor as an itinerant Methodist preacher from the United States, and made the same terms as other students for private instruction. The distinguished historian of philosophy had not met his unknown pupil a week, however, before he canceled their contract as teacher and pupil, declined pay for his services, and said that they must henceforth meet as equals and common workers in the great field of metaphysics.

In 1870, when forty-three years old, he was called to the chair of historical theology in the Theological School at Boston. Those who knew him best, and especially scholars who were aware of his attainments, agree in the opinion that the Theo-

logical School was his providential field. In this his last field of labor he received a double promotion. At the end of three years' service, when Dr. Warren was called to the heavy responsibility of organizing the new University, Dr. Latimer was advanced to the chair of systematic theology, and also called to the deanship of the School. During his connection of fourteen years with the Theological School, over three hundred ministers received much of their broadest and finest culture, and their noblest inspiration, in the class-room of this great teacher. There is scarcely a mission-field of our Church, or a nation of the civilized world, where they are not at work. In the United States, Canada, Mexico, South America, in Africa, Japan, and China, and in almost every nation of Europe his pupils are found, engaged in preaching and in mission work, in colleges and in literature.

In the organization and initial administration of the new University Dr. Latimer had no inconsiderable part. In virtue of his office as Dean of the School of Theology, he was a permanent member of the important body known as the University Council. It is the duty of this body to consider all questions of administration affecting the inter-relations of the different colleges and schools which are included in the University organization. In it, and especially in his place upon the Standing Committee upon post-graduate studies, examinations, and degrees in the School of All Sciences, his excellent judgment, his wide scholarship, and his varied experience were of great value. They gave him an influence upon the highest range of university education which many a prominent college president might justly envy, and which should never be overlooked in any comprehensive estimate of his life. With all the great ideas and achievements of the University he was in heartiest sympathy. While his personal contribution to the upbuilding and fame of the institution can never be sufficiently separated from those of his colleagues to be independently gauged and measured, it is certain that it was a contribution whose results will be fruitful in blessing for generations to come.

President Warren, in his eleventh annual report of Boston University, after calling attention to the fact that such a report is not the place for eulogy, and that he confines his

words to the briefest and most necessary historical allusion, gives the following estimate of his associate's attainments and character:

A broader scholar the country hardly contained. Theology was not his only forte. In the chair of philosophy or history he would have been an ornament to any university in Christendom. A more devout Christian would be hard to find. Through the pupils he trained he will long be a power in the Christian thought and aspiration and achievement of this and other nations.

In another place President Warren says:

Dr. Latimer's habitual range of reading was something quite exceptional. In one of his memorandum books I found a list of the books which he drew from the Athenæum Library during a single season. The number was astonishing. The variety of interest which they represented was equally remarkable. Yet this great library was but one of the supplies on which he was continually drawing. His power of critically dealing with such masses of perused matter was the admiration of his intimate friends from the days when he was a college student till the end. He could always pass a just critical judgment upon every book which had engaged his attention. These judgments, freely given to his pupils, were of great service to them, and added not a little to the charm of his teaching.

Of the scholarship of this gifted teacher Dr. Steele, who was with him more or less from their college days, bears the following witness:

No man within range of the writer's acquaintance had such a facility in mastering and retaining a wealth of learning. In this particular he was a genius. With an intuitive power, a kind of miniature omniscience, he would glance through an alcove of a library and carry away in his memory a summary of every volume for future use. At his funeral the remark was made that Dr. Latimer was the ripest, broadest, and most ready scholar the first century of Episcopal Methodism has produced. None who have been intimate with him will question this high eulogium.

These tributes of Drs. Warren and Steele seem strong. But they are amply sustained by the estimate of a leader in a denomination to which our readers seldom look for encomiums of Methodist scholarship. Dr. A. P. Peabody has been known for years as the Professor of Moral Philosophy at Harvard University, and as a leading scholar of the Unitarian Church. He and Dean Latimer were for several years members of a

Ministers' Club embracing the best scholarship of Boston and Cambridge. Dr. Peabody says:

> Dr. Latimer read before our club several essays showing equally thorough conversance with the labors of others and profound and original thought of his own. I suppose that no man among us was better versed, hardly any so well, in the history of philosophy, both ancient and modern; and I was greatly impressed with his familiarity with the modern, especially the German, schools of speculation. He was a foremost scholar in whatever he undertook to learn or to teach. I regarded him as an excellent biblical scholar; for whenever any subject was before us involving biblical criticism, he was second to no one of our number in its discussion. At the same time he seemed to me pre-eminently a Christian scholar. The tokens of his close kinship to his Lord and Master could escape the emphatic attention of no one who knew him. He was a thoroughly lovable man. In our club, in which we all are brethren, no one could have had more entirely the love no less than the respect of all.

It will always be regretted by those who knew him best that he did not publish more. "John Scotus Erigena" and "Mysticism" were the only two articles published in the "Methodist Quarterly Review." Seven articles were contributed to "Zion's Herald." These are all reviews of books, but are of more than temporary interest as showing the reviewer's opinions upon theology, Christian missions, Christian experience, and philosophy. His Baccalaureate sermon before Boston University in 1884 was published under the title, "The Rational Vindication of Christianity." He was also a contributor to "Johnson's Encyclopædia."

Upon the hearty invitation of editors and publishers, and at the earnest solicitation of many friends, he had consented to prepare the central work in Crook and Hurst's theological series—the work on Systematic Theology. He regarded his subject as the queen of sciences. He was distilling into this volume the reading and thinking and convictions of a life-time. It promised to be an *opus magnum*—a monumental work. It can never be completed as he designed it. After the first one hundred pages we have only the skeleton, without the flesh and blood with which he alone could clothe it. If parts of his writings are ever edited they will furnish at best but an outline of his rich study and conclusions. The condensation of the lectures which he dictated to his classes makes them severe

in style. His lectures upon Christian Philosophy, for instance, are broader, richer, and clearer than the coarse print of Ueberweg's History of Philosophy in the fourth edition. But the coarse print of Dr. Ueberweg does not form a fourth of his rich volumes; and all the comments and suggestions with which Dr. Latimer was accustomed to enrich his dictations are only partially preserved in the notes of widely scattered students. It was only when a dictation was challenged or discussed that the students became aware of the manifold reasons, involving the study of volumes and the thought of years, lying back of and determining the very words of the paragraph. This very condensation, however, would give his writings great value for those who have a general knowledge of the subject in hand, and who wish to hear the latest word of scholarship upon the lofty themes of theology and philosophy. Such a volume, if published, would not attract the multitude, but would give earnest thinkers important help upon some of the most difficult problems of Christian philosophy.

As this failure to produce a single volume for publication was a loss to the Church, some of its causes merit a brief discussion. The fact that our Church periodicals are official organs produces an unconscious pressure for unity of thought and expression in their columns. Dean Latimer was not out of sympathy with the great currents of thought in the Church. Perhaps no member of our communion saw more clearly the broad philosophic foundations of Methodist theology. But the very largeness of his vision put him out of sympathy with the narrower and more dogmatic defenses of the faith which he sometimes saw others making, and made his thinking seem somewhat bold to them. The unconscious pressure, not simply for conformity in doctrine, but for agreement in the methods and philosophy by which principles are to be supported, pervades every large Church or party. It seems inseparable from thorough organization. This pressure is not severe, and cannot become tyrannical in our land and time. Nevertheless, it is a force to be recognized in our literature, and probably chilled the freedom of Dr. Latimer's utterance.

Another condition in our Church unfavorable to literary productiveness is the frequent change of professional work, under the call of the Church, upon the part of our leaders. The most

promising men in the ministry have divided their time between two or more of the distinct callings of preacher, teacher, editor, secretary, and bishop. This frequent change of work makes Methodist preachers prominent among other denominations as well-balanced, practical men. But it renders well-nigh impossible the work of a Tischendorf, a Delitzsch, a Greeley, or a Spurgeon. We have produced journalists equal to Horace Greeley in talent and his superior in culture. They are not, however, so far superior to Mr. Greeley that they can make their names a synonym for American journalism in eight or twelve years when it required forty years of undivided effort upon the part of Mr. Greeley to accomplish this result. It may be said that Bishop Simpson was greater than any living preacher in the pulpit. But with his varied work as tutor, professor, editor, bishop, he has left for posterity only a single volume of sermons, gathered after his death and without his own revision. The literary productiveness of his life will not compare with that of several modern preachers who have reached hundreds of thousands through the newspaper publication of their sermons, and who will leave twenty or thirty volumes for posterity. This, however, is only one side of the question. A man's service to his Church and to the world is not comprised in his entire external achievements, much less in his writings. St. John is infinitely more to the world by what he was than by what he did. If by advancing her sons through various callings the Methodist Church is really developing a larger and finer type of manhood, she is doing a diviner work than she could accomplish by converting them into machines to turn out the largest possible products before the eyes of the world. This method may secure in the end the best external results. The books that reach the twenty-fifth or thirtieth century will be far briefer in compass, with far more wisdom, experience, and character compressed into them than most present literary products can boast. If after the fullest development our workers are allowed time and opportunity for a single creation which shall embody their entire personality, whether it be a book, a college, a newspaper, or a new organization, they may yet combine the broadest culture with the highest possible achievement. Dr. Latimer thought that too much was written, and avowed the theory of a single book

which should embody all one's wisdom. While the result of such a process is apt to be finer when reached, the Church must accept the fact that the larger and finer method will more frequently fail of consummation.

If there is regret upon the part of old students that their great teacher never received that public recognition which he merited, and that he died at last with no adequate expression of his wisdom, they must remember that it is of the very nature of his chosen work that it be done in obscurity. Says Phillips Brooks:

> The teacher is one of those men who give other men the chance of making history rather than make it themselves. Many a great teacher has been perfectly satisfied with teachership, perfectly content to furnish materials of effective and conspicuous activity in others, and to rest himself in obscurity as they went forth to prominence. Let us always remember that the Perfect Life was content, as one of its highest titles, to be called a teacher's life.

The best teacher is not the one who so pushes himself to the front that his pupils' faculties are repressed and they become the mere echoes of his authority. The greatest teacher is he who so calls out the students' powers by question, suggestion, and inspiration that they fail to distinguish between their own and the teacher's thought. Such a teacher is no more apt to be seen of men than are the roots of the tree over which we pass to gather its falling fruit. This is why the Holy Spirit has been so little recognized thus far in even Christian history. "He shall not bear witness of himself" is Christ's characterization of Him who leads us into all truth.

It must be remembered, also, that Dr. Latimer did not aspire to authorship, nor care for public recognition. His life-long passion, and the spring of his long and varied activity, was his craving after personal holiness in all the largeness and consecration of that term. His chief glory was his discipleship to Christ. He was ever inspired by his Master's promise that he might be led into all truth, and be perfect as his Father in heaven was perfect. It was this that made him hold fast his plan of a college training during six years of working and waiting between his preparation and his entrance. It was this, and no vulgar ambition, which made him the finest student in

his class. It was this which led him to tarry at his studies and at teaching instead of hurrying into the pulpit at the close of his college course. It was this which made him a more earnest student and a more omnivorous reader than any pupil down to the close of his life. It was this which made him dread the ruts and narrowness which life-long work in a single profession and a single place is very apt to induce. It was only through this promise of an enlarged experience that temptations seriously assailed him. He once told me that Byron's writings strongly attracted him for a season in his youth, and the flood of the poet's passion nearly swept him from his moorings. But as he turned to the writings of St. John he found there an infinite sweep which Byron could not approach. So he concluded that it was a part of the deceitfulness of sin to promise an enlargement of knowledge while it really destroyed the spiritual senses, that there was room for illimitable growth upon the side of truth and love and holiness, and only upon that side of man's nature, and that purity was the key to the secrets of God. It was his refusal upon the one side to follow ordinary men into a mere life of routine, into a period when one's education is finished and he begins dying at the top; it was his refusal upon the other side to follow the Byrons and Poes into those experiences of sin which cut the tap-root of the soul, sever its connection with God, and leave the spiritual man dying; it was this combination of constant growth with child-like purity that gave him his transforming power as a teacher and a preacher.

At a time when the intellectual world is thoroughly alive—when many are failing through over-activity without sufficient ripeness—when even the Church is flooded with mediocre literature and we are vainly striving to make our achievements greater than our characters, he probably accomplished more for God by his steady pursuit of truth for its own sake and not as an object of intellectual barter—by his great attainments and child-like humility—by his outward contentment in the performance of inconspicuous duties and his inward struggle for an unrealized perfection, than he could have accomplished by some fame-attracting work. He did not despise but simply lost sight of earthly honors in his eagerness to realize his possibilities as a child and a servant of God.

Art. II.—THE APOLOGETIC VALUE OF MIRACLES.

The word *miracle*, in its modern and theological sense, has no equivalent in the New Testament. Θαῦμα, *miraculum*, is not found there at all. Τέρας, the word most nearly akin to it, is of frequent occurrence; but it always appears to refer to the effect on the witnesses rather than to the essence of the occurrence—having thus an altogether subordinate meaning. It is wholly in accordance with the use of language that this, which is originally only a consequence, comes to stand for the thing itself. Still it is never applied to what we call miracles except in connection with other names. They are "signs *and* wonders," but never "wonders" alone.

Another word used is σημεῖα, *signs*. This is found, as representing the conception in question, more frequently than any other word; and yet it is hardly what the writers on logic call a categorematic term; that is, it requires another word, or other words, to make complete sense. A "sign" implies three conceptions, namely, the phenomenon, the sign, and that of which it is a sign. It thus becomes a very suitable word for the purpose for which it is used in the Bible; and, doubtless, if the Greek word had always been rendered by its English equivalent, it would have prevented much misunderstanding. But it should be borne in mind that it is a generic word, and that the specific term is always understood. Many phenomena are *signs* which are not *miracles*. But a miracle is always a sign.

Miracles are also styled δυνάμεις (Lat., *virtus*), that is, "powers," or "mighty works," as of God.* The "power" is primarily a characteristic of the agent; but by an easy transition it comes to signify the exercise and effect of this power or energy. The word is occasionally translated "mighty works" when thus used, and this would seem to be the appropriate English expression, rather than miracles, as for the most part it is translated. This term, δυνάμεις, is the one almost constantly employed by the synoptic evangelists. John more frequently uses σημεῖα than any other word, though the most significant word which we find in this writer to express what

* Trench.

we now mean by miracles is ἔργα, "works." It clearly indicates a personal power or agency. This interpretation has been called in question by certain writers, they understanding by the term the sum total of the acts and the teachings of Jesus. But these authorities are so few as to prove only exceptions to the general drift of thought. It is not claimed by any that the word is used exclusively in this sense by John; but there are passages where to attribute any other meaning to it would be altogether preposterous. To this reference will be had further on.

From these remarks it is evident that the definition of a miracle is attended with some difficulties. It is by some writers regarded as equivalent to any thing *supernatural;* that is, to any event not explicable on the basis of merely natural law, but requiring a power above nature. Others add to this definition that these supernatural characteristics indicate a divine agency, and certify a divine authority in the person performing, or through whom is performed, the act, and that such an event never occurs except in attestation of some religious movement. It is tolerably evident that the events to which we apply our English word miracle were "wonderful," and that this was not an accidental characteristic. They were designed to excite the emotion which the word implies in the beholder —they were calculated to attract attention. They were also invariably intended to be "signs" of something beyond themselves. Without this latter element there could be nothing worthy of the name. Even if we admit the possibility of supernatural works by evil spirits, these would be put forth as "signs" or indications of something to be believed and accepted by the witnesses. This, from the nature of the case, would be something false and vicious and devilish; hence the whole procedure would be fraudulent, and the miracles would be false miracles. They would be base and wretched imitations of real miracles, which are not only of an incalculably higher character in themselves, but they are signs of that which is true, excellent, and divine.

The miracles of Jesus were signs of his Messiahship, certifying a divine authority—credentials of his divine mission. They were addressed to the prevailing belief of intelligent and pious Jews that no genuine miracle could be wrought but by

the power of God, and that this power was never granted except to a good man.

The proofs of the above proposition are gathered from, 1.) The declarations of the people; 2.) The statements of Christ himself; and 3.) The utterances of the apostles.

1.) The following are some of the passages from the evangelists which clearly indicate the public sentiment of the Jewish people. The point to be particularly observed is, the indication every-where that the masses of the people recognized in the miracles of Jesus the power of God, and that it was to their minds a clear proof that God was with the worker of them. In Matt. ix, 8, after the healing of the "sick of the palsy," we find it was spontaneous with the multitude, when they saw what had been done, that "they marveled, and glorified God, which had given such power unto men." Also in the same chapter, verses 32–34, we have the effect of the cure of the dumb demoniac: "The multitudes marveled, saying, It was never so seen in Israel." Matt. xii, 22, 23, gives an account of the healing of a blind and dumb demoniac: "And all the people were amazed, and said, Is not this the son of David?" In Matt. xiv, 33, when Jesus, after walking on the sea of Galilee, had come to his disciples in the ship, "they that were in the ship came and worshiped him, saying, Of a truth thou art the Son of God." After the healing of the demoniac recounted in Mark i, 23–27, the people said, "What thing is this? . . . for with authority commandeth he even the unclean spirits, and they do obey him." In Luke vii, 16, at the raising of the son of the widow of Nain, we read that, "There came a fear on all: and they glorified God, saying, That a great prophet is risen up among us; and, That God hath visited his people." In Luke xviii, 43, when sight had been restored to a blind man, "all the people, when they saw it, gave praise unto God." In John ii, 11, we read: "This beginning of miracles did Jesus in Cana . . . and manifested forth his glory; and his disciples believed on him." John iii, 2, Nicodemus said, "We know that thou art a teacher come from God: for no man can do these miracles that thou doest, except God be with him." John vi, 14, on the occasion of the miracle of the loaves, those who were present said, "This is of a truth that Prophet which should come into the world." John ii, 23, "Now when he was in Jeru-

salem at the passover, in the feast day, many believed in his name, when they saw the miracles which he did." John vii, 31, again at Jerusalem, many of the people believed on him and said, "When Christ cometh, will he do more miracles than these which this man hath done?" In John ix, 30–32, we have the ready, clear, and conclusive argument of the man who had been born blind, whose eyes Jesus had opened: "Why herein is a marvelous thing, that ye know not from whence he is, and yet he hath opened mine eyes. . . . Since the world began was it not heard that any man opened the eyes of one that was born blind. If this man were not of God, he could do nothing." See also verse 16: "How can a man that is a sinner do such miracles?" Also x, 21: "Can a devil open the eyes of the blind?"

2.) The declarations of Jesus himself which indicate the character and purpose of his miracles are numerous. Any thing more explicit can scarcely be conceived than the words contained in Matt. ix, 6, on the occasion of healing the man "sick of the palsy." The words, "Thy sins be forgiven thee," had startled and scandalized the by-standers. Muttered maledictions were beginning to be uttered. "And Jesus knowing their thoughts said, Wherefore think ye evil in your hearts? For whether is easier, to say, Thy sins be forgiven thee; or to say, Arise, and walk? But that ye may know that the Son of man hath power on earth to forgive sins (then saith he to the sick of the palsy), Arise, take up thy bed, and go unto thine house." The reasoning is clear and simple and the conclusion unevadible. A being who has power to produce such a marvelous physical change must be in such relation to God that he would not, without authority, presume to declare the forgiveness of sins.

In Matthew xi, 4, 5, we read, "Jesus . . . said unto them, Go and show John again those things which ye do hear and see: The blind receive their sight, and the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, and the deaf hear, the dead are raised up, and the poor have the gospel preached to them." This, it must be recollected, was the answer of Jesus to John's inquiry whether he were really the Messiah. (See also Luke vii, 19–23.) We read in Matt. xii, 28, "But if I cast out devils by the Spirit of God, then the kingdom of God is come unto you." (See also

Mark ii, 7–11; Luke v, 18–26.) In John v, 36, it is said, "But I have greater witness than that of John: for the works which the Father hath given me to finish, the same works that I do, bear witness of me, that the Father hath sent me." John ix, 2, 3, "And his disciples asked him, saying, Master, who did sin, this man, or his parents, that he was born blind? Jesus answered, Neither hath this man sinned, nor his parents; but that the works of God should be made manifest in him." In John xi, 41, 42, at the raising of Lazarus, "Jesus lifted up his eyes, and said, Father, I thank thee that thou hast heard me. And I knew that thou hearest me always: but because of the people which stand by I said it, that they may believe that thou hast sent me." John xiv, 11, "Believe me that I am in the Father, and the Father in me: or else believe me for the very works' sake." John x, 37, 38, "If I do not the works of my Father, believe me not. But if I do, though ye believe not me, believe the works; that ye may know, and believe, that the Father is in me, and I in him." Also verse 25: "The works that I do in my Father's name, they bear witness of me." John xv, 24: "If I had not done among them the works which none other man did, they had not had sin. But now have they both seen and hated both me and my Father."

As before remarked, it has been claimed that by the "works" in these passages Jesus refers not merely to his miracles, but to the whole of his words and acts. This may be true in certain instances, and in some sense in all. Yet obviously the term is used in some of these passages in such a specific way that the prominent reference must be to his miraculous manifestations. There need be no dispute that Christ's character and the character of the "works" are closely associated in the statements—the one is necessarily the outcome of the other. But that the miraculous element is the essential and effective characteristic in many of these utterances is very obvious. To leave this out, and to limit the term as indicating only the moral character of the public addresses and other deeds of Christ, will evidently create more difficulties than it will relieve. Christ clearly discriminates between his "words" and his "works," always giving much the greater emphasis to the latter. Furthermore, aside from these, the labors of Christ, so far as mere human appearance and apprehension go, were

not distinguished above those of his predecessors and successors. Indeed, we may say that in this respect, and so far as any possible immediate effect upon contemporaries is concerned, the lives of many of the prophets and religious men of the Old Testament, and of the apostles and others in the earlier and even in the later days of Christianity, exceeded his. The work of Moses, of Samuel, of Elijah, of Isaiah and Jeremiah, of Daniel and Ezra, of John the Baptist, of Paul and Peter, and of Wiclif, Luther, and Wesley, in each several case was, in outward appearance and effect, greater than that of Jesus during any portion of his active ministry, if we eliminate what has been regarded as the supernatural element in it. It is true that the *one great* work of Christ infinitely transcends all the works of all other men, and as well all human conception. But this was not visible nor apprehensible when he made his appeals to the Jews, and it could not have been this to which he directed their attention in proof of his divine mission.

3.) The apostles boldly cite these miraculous works of Jesus as proofs to the Jews of his Messiahship. In John xx, 30, 31, it is said, "And many other signs truly did Jesus in the presence of his disciples, which are not written in this book: but these are written, that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God." Acts ii, 22, "Jesus of Nazareth, a man approved of God among you by miracles and wonders and signs, which God did by him in the midst of you, as ye yourselves also know." Heb. ii, 3, 4, "How shall we escape, if we neglect so great salvation; which at the first began to be spoken by the Lord, and was confirmed unto us by them that heard him; God also bearing them witness, both with signs and wonders, and with divers miracles, and gifts of the Holy Ghost, according to his own will?"

So many and so positive are the Scripture statements in support of the position taken near the beginning of this article. They fairly indicate the doctrine of the New Testament on this subject, unless equally positive and equally numerous texts are found to neutralize them. The doctrine contradictory to the one we have here attempted to sustain is comprised in the statement that miracles are not credentials of any thing, and that they have no evidential value in respect to religion or revelation. So far as the miracles of Jesus are concerned the

argument for this view is embraced in the two following propositions: 1) That the Jews held that miracles might be wrought by evil spirits; and 2) That therefore it would be impossible to infer from such manifestations the divine mission of the worker.

The positive proofs advanced in favor of these propositions are very few. Scarcely half a dozen passages in the New Testament can be cited that in any sense furnish support to this doctrine, and all these can be easily interpreted to harmonize with those already quoted on the opposite side. Take, for instance, that in which Christ is accused of casting out devils by Beelzebub. This is so obviously the utterance of partisan bigotry and baffled malice as to have no relation to candid public sentiment. Its hypocrisy and blasphemy called forth the most terrible rebuke ever pronounced by Jesus. There are two or three other passages which record the accusations of certain parties to the effect that Christ was possessed of a devil, or that he was a sinner, which are clearly inspired by the same disreputable and malevolent disposition. It is quite conceivable that many who were unfavorably situated in relation to the events which were transpiring, or who had unconsciously become prejudiced, might innocently mistake Christ's character, and might regard him as an impostor; but this in no way affects the question.

It has been urged that the Bible itself teaches that supernatural effects are brought about through the agency of evil spirits, and that the Jewish people in the time of Christ believed this. We regard this as an open question. But it is not necessary to discuss it here. Admitting the theory implied for the sake of the argument, no candid thinker will for a moment insist that the phenomena alluded to are to be put on a level with miracles wrought by the power of God as claimed in the Bible. In every case in which they are brought into any thing like competition with each other, we see at once how feeble the former are as compared with the latter. The most conspicuous case of this kind is the contest of the Egyptian magicians with Moses. Their miracles were simply imitations of his. Aaron's rod became a serpent. Apparently the same transformation of their rods took place; but Aaron's rod swallowed up all theirs. Moses turned the water to blood.

Again they imitate him—not a very difficult achievement one would think, since all the water in rivers and ponds and pools and even drinking vessels had been changed. Moses brings in frogs till they are on every plat of ground, in every house and every room, and clinging about every person. It would not be very wonderful to appear to produce more frogs. It were something to the purpose to furnish some pure water, or even in some moderate degree to abate the nuisance of the frogs; but so far as we are informed neither of these was attempted. Even the poor mimicry with which the contest opened soon failed them, and the magicians retired vanquished from the field. In all the instances recorded in the Bible and generally elsewhere, these miracles of soothsayers, magicians, and false prophets are of a trivial, sensational, and unmeaning character. They are altogether rudimentary and indefinite. Frequently they originate with persons either physically or mentally disordered. The demoniacs of the New Testament were numerous, and we may readily admit that they were, as the statements of the evangelists naturally and obviously imply, under the control of evil spirits. But where is there the slightest intimation of their ever doing any thing worthy of the name of a miracle? It was unquestionably the public voice which said, "Can a devil open the eyes of the blind?"

The rabbis distinguished true from false miracles by six chief tests: 1) The *object* must be worthy of the divine Author; 2) The performance must be *public*, and 3) Submitted to the *senses*, so that men might judge of their reality; 4) The mode of working must be *independent of second causes;* 5) They must be attested by *contemporaneous evidence;* 6) Recorded by a *monument,* or in some form equally permanent.*

With such rules as these it is improbable that any person who was really anxious to know the truth respecting Christ's miracles at the time when they were wrought would fail to be convinced of his divine mission. We see at a glance how far any of the so-called miracles wrought by diviners, soothsayers, magicians, astrologers, or the possessed of devils, fall short of these tests.

The fact that great numbers of persons rejected the claims

* Smith's "New Testament History," p. 212.

of Christ, and ignored the testimony of the miracles, is of no force against the general position here maintained. It is not the method of the divine procedure to offer such evidence as will *compel* conviction, or, at least, practical acceptance of the truth. There are thousands all around us to-day who not only have ample reason, according to their own testimony, to admit and acknowledge the substantial claims of Christianity, but who actually do this, who still reject Christ and refuse to submit themselves to God. The miracles of Christ were sufficient to convince candid and unprejudiced and fairly intelligent Jews that he was the Messiah; but they were not, and were not intended to be, of the nature of irresistible evidence. Hence the fact that the nation rejected him not only does not militate against the doctrine herein set forth, but it was something anticipated and predicted.

There are certain obvious inferences from what has been said: 1.) That a supernatural event is not necessarily a miracle, in the sense of the New Testament words which we thus translate; but a miracle in this sense is always a supernatural event. 2.) That though a miracle is always a remarkable event, and calculated to excite wonder, it is also something more than that. 3.) That while there are many signs and tokens of religious truth, these are not always miracles; yet a real miracle is always a sign of divine agency and authority. 4.) A miracle is to be defined as an event wrought through human instrumentality, and not explicable on the basis of merely natural laws or causes, but requiring a power above nature indicating a divine agency, and certifying a divine authority in the person performing the act, and never occurring except in attestation of a religious movement.

The miracles of Jesus, though having many features in common with all other Bible miracles, yet in several particulars differed from them. Certain peculiarities of the former have been noticed by several writers. The following are the more prominent of these: 1.) Christ always wrought in his own name. He obviously exercises a power as of his own. His references to the Father in connection with the forth puttings of his power are evidently intended to indicate the identity of his action and purpose with God's action and purpose. In this respect we see a marked distinction between Christ and any of

his predecessors or successors. 2.) Connected with this peculiarity is that of the confidence, ease, and naturalness with which these works are performed by Christ, as compared with a kind of difficulty, hesitancy, and struggle often observed in the most conspicuous of the Old Testament miracles. Compare Elijah and Elisha in restoring the dead children to life with the acts of Christ in the cases of the son of the widow of Nain, and of Lazarus; also, that of Moses in the healing of Miriam and the healing of the lepers by Jesus. 3.) The larger and freer character of the works of Christ is also noticeable. His miracles are for the most part upon a greater scale. Furthermore it is observable that most of the workers of miracles before Christ used some material instrument, as a staff or rod, not as having any magical or talismanic influence, but as a symbol to aid the senses in the performance of their work. Nothing of this kind is found in connection with the miracles of Christ. 4.) The miracles of the Old Testament were largely in the sphere of external nature; those of Christ were chiefly in that of humanity. 5.) Finally, the supernatural works of Jesus differed from most of those of the Old Testament in the fact that the former, almost without exception, were in the way of beneficence, while the latter were much more frequently in execution of judgment, or as signs of the divine wrath and indignation against sin.*

What, then, is the apologetic value of the miracles of Jesus to us of this age? Taken by themselves as evidences of the truth of Christianity, we are constrained to regard them as of no value whatever. We have the evidence of "greater works than these" to the truth of this system of religion. To us Christianity proves the miracles rather than the miracles prove Christianity. Says Robertson: "The strongest proof of Christianity is Christianity." To the Jews at the time of the advent it was altogether different. A momentous change was to take place, a great new movement was to be inaugurated. Neither the movement nor the leader in it was unanticipated. They had been foretold and expected for many ages. But how was their arrival to be made known? Miracles to them were indispensable, so far as we can see, both as the fulfillment of prophecy and as credentials of the Messiah. Christ being

* See Trench more fully.

what he was, and Christianity being what it is, it appears impossible that there should have been no miracles. They were demonstrative evidences, then and there, of a new and divine dispensation; but by and of themselves they prove nothing to remote generations.

But though of no essential apologetic value in the nineteenth century, they are of incalculable historical value. They are implied in the very nature of the case; we are compelled to think of them as essential conditions; and they are involved among the fundamental facts of our religion. To deny them or to explain them away is to destroy the credibility of revelation. We may say of them in a general way what Paul has said of the greatest of them all, if they are not facts, "then is our preaching vain, and your faith also is vain." It is this which gives importance to the numerous and successive systems of modern Rationalism. This is the point of concentrated assault by the foes of Christianity. Once do away with the conviction of the supernatural in our religion and its overthrow becomes easy.

Art. III.—MADAGASCAR.

Madagascar, the Great Britain of the Indian Ocean, and the field on which the militant Church has won one of its proudest triumphs, fills a large place in the eye of modern Christendom. Information concerning it is surprisingly abundant. In addition to many books in English and French, numerous papers upon the exploration, natural resources, animal and vegetable life, political and religious condition of the country, have been given to the world. M. Alfred Grandidier's "Histoire Naturelle, Physique, et Politique de Madagascar," in twenty-eight quarto volumes, alone includes almost every thing of scientific worth to be found elsewhere.

Madagascar, the third largest island in the world, is situated in the Indian Ocean, about 300 miles from the south-east corner of the African continent, from which it is separated by the Channel of Mozambique—from 230 to 300 miles across. Its extreme length from north to south is very nearly 1,000 miles. Cape Amber, the northernmost point, is in 12 degrees south

latitude, and the southernmost point at about 25 degrees 35 minutes. The main axis of the island runs from north-north-east to south-south-west. The broadest part, from Cape St. Andrew on the west to Tamatave on the east, is 354 miles. North of this line the shape of the island is that of a long, irregular triangle. Southward the average breadth is about 250 miles. The superficial area embraces nearly 230,000 square miles.

Two thirds of the eastern shore are almost rectilinear, broken by very few inlets. Tamatave and Foul Point, the most frequented ports on this side of the island, are mere open roadsteads, protected by coral reefs. North of these is Antongil Bay, a deep, wide inlet, running 50 miles northwardly. Farther north is Port Louquez; and immediately on the north of the island is Diego Suarez Bay, one of the finest harbors in the world. The north-west coast presents numerous inlets, some land-locked, and of considerable extent. South of these are the bays of Chimpaiky, Pàssandàva, Port Radàma, Narinda, Majámbo, Bembatoka, and Iboina; and the estuaries of a number of rivers. South of Cape St. Andrew, the north-west angle of the island, there is nothing in the shape of a gulf until the bay of St. Augustine is reached. The only indentation on the southern shore is the small bay of Itapéra, near Fort Dauphin on the south-east. The map of James Sibree, Jr., F.R.G.S., prepared from the various maps of naturalists, shows that more than one third of the interior is occupied by a mountainous region, lying to the north and east. Other hilly ranges are found in the west. Around the first, and between it and the latter, are extensive plains, as yet but partially explored.

While the shores of the southern half of the island are low and flat, much of the northern coast is bold and precipitous. The littoral plains on the eastern side vary from 10 to 50 miles in width; those on the western are often 100 miles across. Successive ranges of hills lead from the coast plains to the elevated interior, which is broken up in all directions by mountains. Four peaks of the basaltic Ankàratra Mountains protrude through the gneiss and granite of the great central range and rise to the height of from 8,100 to 8,950 feet above the sea level, and from 3,900 to 4,700 feet above the surface of the circumjacent country. The loftiest of these peaks bears the significant title of Tsi-àfa-jàvona, that is, "that which the mists cannot climb."

To the south of these, in the Bétsiléo province, are very many other imposing peaks, some of which attain to an elevation of nearly 8,000 feet. Farther south, in the Bàra district, the Isàlo Mountains are said by a recent traveler to resemble the "Church Buttes" and other striking features of the scenery on the line of the Union Pacific Railroad. But the most majestic of all the Malagasy mountains is the isolated peak known as Ambòhitra, near the northern extremity of the island. Rising from plains but little above the level of the sea, its grand proportions command notice from every direction, and it is seen far out at sea.

Fertile plains and luxuriant valleys thread this rugged network of volcanic hills and peaks. Those of Bétsimitàtatra in Imérina and Tsiénimparìhy in Bétsiléo yield extraordinary crops of rice. Still more extensive valleys occupy other portions of Madagascar, the central portion of which exhibits a saucer-like depression. As the eastern mountains are the highest, the water-shed on the east is not more than from 50 to 80 miles from the sea. The copious rain-fall on the north and east constantly replenishes the countless springs and streams, and imparts productiveness and verdure to the soil. But in portions of the west, south-west, and south the supply of moisture is inadequate and the land arid. The principal rivers flow into the Mozambique Channel, and are usually choked by sand-bars. They are seldom navigable for more than 30 or 40 miles, except for native canoes. The Betsibòka, on the west, may be ascended by light-draught steamers for about 90 miles, and by smaller craft for 160. The Tsìribìhina is navigable for a long distance, and pours such an immense flood into the sea that its waters are fresh at a distance of three miles from the land. Dense forests, magnificent gorges, rocky bars, and grand cataracts effectually prevent navigation. The Màtitànana descends at one plunge nearly 500 feet. Of the few large lakes in the country the Alàotra is 25 miles, and the Itàsy is about eight miles, long.

The geological structure of Madagascar is easily apprehended. Powerful subterranean action from south-east to north-west and north, along a line whose northern extremity is in the volcanic Comoro Islands, is often experienced. Eruptions have ceased, but numerous extinct craters, cones, and lava masses attest their

former violence. Dr. Mullens counted 100 craters within an area of 90 miles round the mass of Ankàratra. Ambòhitra is an ancient volcano. Columnar basalt, pumice, and volcanic ashes are frequent. Earthquake shocks and thermal springs indicate that in the depths the "wonted fires" are still glowing. In the eastern and central provinces are numerous sulphur springs. The granite, gneiss, and basalt rocks cresting the hills of the upper region often resemble Titanic castles, pyramids, and cathedrals. Madagascar is, geologically, one of the oldest lands on the face of the earth, the island having in the central parts neither stratified nor fossiliferous rocks. The southern and western plains are comparatively recent accretions, and only rise from 300 to 600 feet above the sea level. Belonging to the secondary period, their fossils are of a later age. Abundance of iron, unworked deposits of copper and silver ore, antimony, rock-salt, plumbago, various ochers and colored earths are among the mineral products. Lignite suitable for fuel occurs on the north-west coast, but true coal has not yet been discovered. Bare rolling moors, distinguished by bright red and light brown clays, and rich valleys, whose vegetable soil is of bluish-black alluvium, are general features of the landscape.

Cogent reasons, drawn from the study of ethnography, phi lology, botany, zoology, and geology, have led many scientists to the conclusion that Madagascar and adjacent islands are the remains of a primeval continent that once covered much of that section of the southern hemisphere. From the fact that in southern Africa and south-western Asia occur the only apes known in the world, Professor Winchell infers that these regions are best fitted for the reception of the human animal.

A similar opinion has also been formed, on more general zoological and geological grounds, by M. Milne Edwards, who suggests that what he designates the "Mascavene continent" has disappeared from a region situated south-east of Africa. More recently the eminent English ornithologist, Sclater, has given the name Lemuria to a supposed obliterated land, including the Mascavene continent of Milne Edwards, and stretching across the Indian Ocean to Ceylon and Sumatra, and including the Laccadives and Maldives.

The wide distribution, in southern latitudes, of various species of *Phycosperma*, all very difficult of dissemination, in the

opinion of the botanist Beccari, makes it necessary that we should "assume the former existence of obliterated lands in the very region where the Indian Ocean, with its storms and tempests, is to-day exclusive monarch—exactly in the region where we must locate the hypothetical Lemuria in order to explain the otherwise incomprehensible facts of the geographical distribution of animals."

Dr. Winchell acknowledges that geologists were mistaken in asserting the remote antiquity of man because the extinct mammoth and cave bear have been his contemporaries, and concedes that extinction of species are not necessarily remote in time.

The European *urus*, the Arctic *manatee*, the *Balæna biscayensis*—a whale which was once the basis of a flourishing industry on the coasts of France and Spain—the American mammoth, and the Irish elk, have all ceased to exist within the human period. "Species are constantly dropping out of existence" as environment becomes unfavorable to their continuance. Similar conditions of floral or faunal life in different parts of the earth are accompanied by the same or similar forms.

In the high interior of Madagascar the climate is temperate and salubrious. The hot and rainy season lasts from November to April, the cool and dry from April to November. The average annual mean temperature on the east coast is 77 or 78 degrees Fahrenheit, the range being from 70 degrees at sunrise to 86 degrees in the afternoon. The temperature of Antanànarivo, the capital, is like that of Palermo or Naples. The vapor-laden trade-winds deposit much moisture on the east coast. Drained almost dry by the central mountains, they have but little left for precipitation on the western shores. Terrific thunder-storms are, with intense lightning, of frequent occurrence. Malarial fevers, of deadly and malignant type, are prevalent on the low-lying coasts, and are as fatal to natives of the elevated provinces as to Europeans.

The vegetable growth of the island is remarkably luxuriant. An almost unbroken belt of dense forest, at no great distance from the sea, encircles the interior. On the north-west two lines of it overlap for a hundred miles, and leave an opening seventy miles wide between them. This unique arboreal girdle is from fifteen to twenty miles in width, but reaches forty miles on the north-east. Containing a large variety of hard-wood

and valuable timber trees, as well as numerous species of palm, bamboo, tree fern, euphorbia, pandanus, baobab, tamarind, etc., besides ferns, of which two hundred and fifty species have been collected, and some of which are filmy and viviparous, and also many interesting orchids, their forests are one of the principal sources of wealth to the inhabitants.

The number of known floral genera is about seven hundred, of which eighty are supposed to be endemic. But as yet the flora is not half-known. Of spiny and prickly plants there is large variety; also of grasses, reeds, and rushes, many of which are of excellent service in native manufactures.

Rev. Mr. Ellis, who spent some years in the island, writes, in his "History of Madagascar:"

> One of the most beautiful things to be found in Madagascar is its grass. This covers many thousands of square miles. It is beautiful, as it spreads abroad over the open plains, where it is short, compact, and juicy, and supplies abundant nourishment to the great herds which the nobles of the land send to fatten upon what costs them nothing. It is beautiful in the sheltered valleys, where the soft, tender blades, enriched by the pearly dew and the gentle rain, are refreshing to the eye, and yield like velvet beneath the foot. . . . Burned year after year by long, sweeping fires, it springs up again with a profusion and a fullness which clasp huge rocks within its soft embrace. Here it is short but strong; there it rises into vast tufts, each of which contains many thousand blades, and covers many feet of ground; and yet again it spreads over vast patches of country in thick, tall masses, which tower above men's heads, open their tinted blades to the warm sun, and wave their myriads of golden feathers in the summer winds. —Vol. ii, p. 458.

Rice is the staff of life to the Malagasy. Maize, millet, manioc, yams, and sweet potatoes are indigenous. The common potato is an exotic. Many species of vegetables and fruits have been introduced by Europeans. Gum, copal, and caoutchouc are exported in considerable quantities, and are among the commodities that promise to become the source of future national prosperity.

The ornithology of Madagascar, although richer than the mammals, lacks the largest and most brilliantly colored birds. Of its more than 220 species, nearly one half are peculiar to the island. Some of the birds are of such peculiar structure that they puzzle the ornithologists, and make it extremely difficult

to classify them. Lakes and streams are alive with water-fowl. Four or five centuries ago this insular country was the home of the *Æpyornis*, a member of the ostrich family, whose eggs, found in a sub-fossil state, are 12¼ by 9⅛ inches in size. This singular bird is now extinct. Deadly serpents are unknown. Two or three small species of boa occur. Crocodiles are excessively numerous in the lakes and rivers, are ferocious and dangerous, and scarcely compensate for their ravages by the supply of their eggs for the food of the natives. Feared by the heathen as beings possessed of supernatural power, the people "invoke their forbearance with prayers, or seek protection by charms, rather than attack them. Even the shaking of a spear over the waters would be regarded as an act of sacrilegious insult to the sovereign of the flood, imperiling the life of the offender the next time he should venture on the water." The Christianized natives have lost all superstitious dread of the brute, and do not hesitate to attack and destroy him. Crocodiles' teeth are worn as charms. Lizards, chameleons, and tree-frogs inhabit the woods. Several peculiar tortoises attract curiosity. The gigantic species, however, has almost if not quite ceased to exist, and is now mainly found upon the little island of Aldebra to the north. Insects are multitudinous. Splendidly colored beetles, butterflies, moths, spiders, locusts, and also noxious spiders, scorpions, and centipedes, interest and delight the naturalist. The entire Madagascar fauna is strongly individualized, and corresponds with its geological singularities and isolation from other zoological regions. The Asiatic and Malayan affinities of the animals, coupled with the physical conditions of the bed of the Indian Ocean in that section of the globe, induced A. R. Wallace to accept the theory that Madagascar is the chief relic of an archipelago or continent still slowly sinking beneath the waves.

The population of the island is known collectively as the Malagasy, and is variously estimated at from 2,500,000 to 5,000,000. These are divided into numerous tribes, each of which has its own name and customs. Near as they are to Africa, they are not African, but belong to the Malayo-Polynesian stock. Physical similarities, mental habits, customs, and language—the latter particularly—unite to establish this relationship. Tradition leads to the same conclusion. African

immigration has modified the tribes on the western side, and Arab blood has been infused into those on the north-west and south-east coasts. The different Malagasy tribes preserve traditions of an earlier people called Vazimba, whose alleged graves, covered by small shapeless heaps of stone, are scattered over the bare downs of Imérina. The superstitious fear of the Hòva forbids the exploration of these African "barrows." When further enlightenment permits investigation it will probably be found that the Vazimba were a tribe allied to the Kìmos and Béhòsy, aborigines of low stature, and resembling in other physical characteristics the Bushmen of southern Africa. Dr. Mullens maintains that "they were a true Malagasy people," with "nothing African about them."

On the east of the island are the Bétsimisàraka, Bezànozàno, Tanàla, Taisàka, Taimòro, and others; in the center, the Sihànaka, Hòva, Bétsiléo, Bàra, etc.; in the west, the generic Sàkalàva—so called from the conquering tribe, although the vanquished retain their own proper names and individuality. The Hòva, occupying the central province of Imérina, are the dominant tribe. These are held to be the latest immigrants. Lighter in color, they are certainly far in advance of their countrymen in point of intelligence and civilization. Starting in the south-east, they have pushed their conquests over most of the island, and are manifestly destined to be the ruling race. As a whole, says Mullens, "the Malagasy are a Malay people, following Malay customs, some of them possessing Malay eyes and hair and features, and all of them speaking a Malay tongue at the present hour."

The language of the Malagasy is substantially one throughout the country. Dialectic differences of vocabulary and pronunciation are marked, but there are no traces of any distinctively different speech.

Some of the words of this widely extended language are said to be identical with the Sanskrit, others with the Hebrew and Arabic. The Malagasy was probably derived from a language, rich, flexible, and exact, spoken by an intellectual people whose culture it reflected. This seems to have been the opinion of many able scholars who have studied the migrations of the races.

Destitute of written characters, excepting some rude attempts at picture-drawing found near St. Augustine's Bay, the Malagasy

had no manuscripts, inscriptions, or books until their language was reduced to writing by English missionaries over sixty years ago. In many of its verbal and other forms it is very copious, but it has also some curious deficiencies. Full of vowels and liquids, and free from all harsh gutturals, it is very soft and musical. Native oratory is affluent in figures, metaphors, and parables. Folk-tales, songs, legends, and very numerous proverbs attest the intellectual power and imaginative faculty of the people.

The Malagasy have never fallen into the depths of savagery and barbarism, and are wholly free from the cannibal practices of allied peoples. Endowed with strong tribal instincts, they are loyal and law-abiding. Living in settled communities, in villages often skillfully fortified, and under the patriarchal government of chiefs and elders, they present fewer difficulties to evangelization than do the nomadic races. In Imérina the Hòva are divided into three great classes: the Andrìana, or nobles; the Hòva, freemen, or commoners; and the Andèvo, or slaves. The Andrìana are really royal clans, descendants of the petty kings and nobles who succumbed to the power of the present reigning dynasty. Resembling the *boyars* of Russia, and the *noblesse* of France, they are entitled to certain honors in virtue of origin; for example, special terms of salutation, the use of the smaller scarlet umbrella, the right to build a particular kind of tomb, exemption from certain kinds of government service, and from sundry punishments for crime. Of the six ranks of Andrìana, besides the royal clan, many members hold estates by a kind of feudal tenure from the sovereign. Often segregated in separate communities, and monopolizing some of the handicrafts, they are frequently very poor, and exhibit no outward distinctions between themselves and the people at large. The Hòva, or commoners, compose the mass of the freemen, and consist of a large number of tribes, whose members usually intermarry so as to keep property and land together. They may, like the Andrìana, be either civilians or of the military class. The third social division includes the slaves. Up to 1877 these consisted, first, of the offspring of the Hòva, or freemen, reduced to slavery for debt, or for political or criminal offenses; second, the Andèvo, or slaves proper, descendants of the Malagasy tribes subdued and enslaved by the Hòva;

third, the Mozambiques, or African slaves, and their descendants, imported in Arab slaving dhows. These in 1877 were liberated and mainly reckoned with the Hòva, or freemen. Hòva, in the widest sense of the term, means the entire population of Imérina. Malagasy chieftainship and royalty retain semi-sacred character. In life, the heathen chief is the high-priest of his people, and after death he is worshiped as a god.

Arab connection with Madagascar began at a very remote epoch. Adventurers made settlements in the north-west and south-east of the island. In the latter section a few of their descendants still preserve some little knowledge of the Arabic tongue. The ruling clans of the Tanàla and other tribes in the district are evidently of Arabian extraction. Amalgamation with the mass of the population is, however, almost complete. In the north-west the large Arab colonies seated in the ports of Amòrontsànga, Mòjangà, Màrovoày, and Mòrondàva, retain their distinctive nationality, together with their dress, habits, houses, worship, and language. In earlier times the Arabs exerted powerful influence upon the Malagasy. Many words from the Arabic are found in the native tongue. Among them are the names of the months, and days of the week; terms used in astrology and divination, some forms of salutation, words for dress and bedding, money, musical instruments, books, writing, and many miscellaneous terms. In the north-west of the island there is also a large Hindu element in the population. In some towns it is quite as conspicuous as the Arabic constituent. Hindu dress, ornaments, food, music, and language are special features in the social life of these places. Intercourse is now, and has been for centuries, kept up between India and northern Madagascar. The introduction of Christianity, followed by foreign commerce, has already modified the social constitution of the Malagasy people, and will inevitably lead to still further changes.

Rice culture is necessarily the principal industrial pursuit. Remarkable engineering talent has been developed through ages of thoughtful devotion to it. As in nearly all barbarous and semi-civilized countries, women do much of the hard labor. Rice, roots, vegetables, and fish are the chief articles of diet. Occasionally flesh from the fine herds of humped cattle, found all over the country, is added. "Give to the Malagasy," says

Mullens, "rice and gravy, gravy and rice, and they desire little more."

In 1853 the average price of a good ox was five dollars; eight or ten turkeys could be bought for a dollar, and a score or couple of dozen fowls for the same sum. The schedule of prices is probably still about the same.

The manufacture of textile fabrics is one of the most important industries. Women spin and weave, and by the simplest means produce strong, durable cloths of silk, cotton, hemp, ròfia palm, aloe, and banana fiber of elegant patterns and tasteful colors. Mats and baskets of delicate fineness, hats like those of Panama, and rush mattings are also fabricated. The use of vegetable fibers for clothing is another strong link connecting the islanders with the Polynesian race, and differentiates them from the skin-clad tribes of South Africa. The *salàka*, a loin-cloth for men, and the *kitàmby*, or apron, folded round the body from waist to heel, for women, are covered in both sexes by the *làmba*, a large square of cloth of different materials, folded round the body, something like a Roman toga. The large white *làmba*, bordered with the *akotso*, or fine, broad stripes, is the distinctive badge of the Hòva. The hair of all the Hòva of pure blood is black and smooth, rich and glossy. The former custom of ladies used to divide it into twenty or more sections, plaited together and tied up into a small bow. Different fashions prevailed in different tribes, but being found inconsistent with cleanliness and comfort, many of these have been abandoned, and the Anglo-Saxon plan of daily dressing the hair adopted.

Artistic genius is common among the Malagasy. Even the heathen are skillful metal-workers, and by means of the rudest tools manufacture fine silver chains and filagree ornaments of gold and silver. The introduction of European artisans has still further improved mechanical talent. Their work in iron, copper, and brass is excellent. Every thing made by foreigners is successfully imitated. European ideas are quickly seized and adopted, and considerable power of invention is also exemplified. Domestic architecture is various. To the dark-skinned tribes, inhabiting the hot, saline plains on the coast, the *pandanus* is invaluable. Most of the Hòva houses are constructed of hard-red clay, with high-pitched roofs, thatched with grass

or rushes. The chiefs and rich men build houses of framed timber, covered with massive upright planking, and having lofty roofs of shingle or tile.

Antanànarivo, the capital, is not only the largest city in the island, but it contains the most inhabitants. Here the old timber and brush houses have nearly all been replaced by much larger and more substantial ones of sun-dried brick and stone, constructed in European fashion. A group of royal palaces crowns the summit of the ridge on which the city is built. Four handsome stone memorial churches, with spires or towers, mark the spots where the Christian martyrs suffered. Other notable buildings are the Chapel Royal, the Norwegian and Roman Catholic churches, the London Missionary Society's college, the London Missionary Society's and Friends' normal schools, mission hospitals, the court of justice, and numerous large Congregational churches of sun-dried brick.

Antanànarivo is computed to contain 100,000 inhabitants; Mòjangà, 14,000; Tamatave, 6,000; Fianàrantsòa, the chief Bétsiléo town, about 6,000; Ambòhimànga, the old capital of Imérina, about 5,000. Few other towns have so large a population as the last. The country, as a whole, is comparatively and painfully empty, and is densely peopled in only two or three districts. The Hòva and Bétsiléo used to build their villages on the summits of lofty hills, and encircle them with a concentric series of deep fosses for the sake of safety. Prickly pear or thorny mimosa fences still inclose villages and homesteads in other districts. Sanitation is unknown. Rotting refuse is the cause of fever and other diseases.

Fearing foreign invasion the rulers have purposely refused to improve the means of internal communication. These could not well be worse than they are. There was not, a few years ago, and is not now so far as our information extends, a single road in the modern sense of the word in this vast island. Wheeled vehicles are unknown.

Canoes and porters being the only internal vehicles of commerce, all mercantile operations are conducted with difficulty. Cattle for export are driven to the sea-coast, whence they are taken to Mauritius and other islands. Hydraulic engineering is needed to increase harbor accommodation, and railroads to evoke the amazing resources of the country. Its native

products may be raised in indefinite quantities, and an equally indefinite demand for articles of foreign manufacture may be created. Madagascar has no native coinage. The French five-franc piece, or dollar, is the standard of value. All coins less than these are obtained by cutting them into all shapes and sizes, even to $\frac{1}{720}$ of the original.

The natural facilities for foreign commerce have not hitherto been utilized by the Malagasy. At present there is no harbor south of Tamatave, which for that reason must continue to be the principal port on the east coast. Open roadsteads, exposed to winds and currents, are so dangerous that underwriters refuse to insure vessels having no better protection. Inside the reefs, on which they are so often wrecked, and which have been cast up in the ceaseless conflict between the rivers and the ocean waves, is sufficient accommodation for the navies of the world, provided sufficient inlets were constructed and the engineering schemes of King Radàma executed. Thirty miles of canalization would complete a harbor—now of river and again of lake-like expansion—extending for 200 miles along the coast. French ambition and aggression are to blame for the slow development of trade with Madagascar. The occupation of Majunga, and the bombardment of Tamatave and other places have both retarded it. All attempts to convert the island into a French dependency are flagrantly wicked and doomed to failure.

Before the advent of missionaries, the Malagasy were what the Germans call a nature-people. As heathens, they had neither temples nor stated seasons of devotion; neither priesthood nor any organized religious system or form of worship. The existence of the Supreme Being, called Andriamànitra, "*The Fragrant One*," and Zànahàry, "*The Creator*"—words in vogue all over the island—had always received distinct recognition. Proverbial sayings enforce many of the truths of natural religion, such as the attributes of God. Fetichism, or belief in charms as having power to protect from certain evils, and to procure various benefits, was their religion. Four of five of these charms were each called "god" by the Hòva, and were honored as national deities. On all public occasions they were brought out to sanctify the proceedings. Belief in witchcraft, sorcery, divination, lucky and unlucky times and

seasons, ancestor-worship, and ordeals for the detection of crime, characterized the Malagasy. These are still prevalent among the unevangelized tribes. Sacrifices of fowls and sheep are made as thanksgivings and propitiatory offerings. Human sacrifices are sometimes offered in the southern districts. The New Year's festival among the Hòva is almost peculiar to that tribe. At general circumcisions, practiced every few years by royal command, general rejoicing, drunkenness, and licentiousness prevail. Funerals are times of great feasting. Idol-keepers, diviners, day-declarers, and others connected with heathen customs, constitute the nearest approach to a priesthood. Morals correspond to this religion, such as it is. The non-evangelized natives are impure, in some places shamelessly indecent, and in all untruthful and cruel. Yet the position of woman in society—Madagascar having had female sovereigns for nearly half a century—is much higher than in most pagan lands. Infanticide, under the most unfeeling and abominable forms, was formerly the general practice. Death in shocking shapes was inflicted for trifling offenses. Drunkenness was prevalent, and persistent industry very infrequent. For the courage and loyalty of the chiefs, the brief energy of the people, firmness in friendship, kindness to relatives, respect for old age, politeness and courtesy, and hospitality to strangers, the Malagasy, as compared with other pagans, are remarkable. Slavery, as it existed and still exists among them, was seldom either cruel or oppressive.

The multitudinous literature to which we have adverted reveals the causes of religious, moral, political, and commercial changes among this extraordinary people. The history of Madagascar presents few features of interest until the first half of the seventeenth century, when the French and English attempted to colonize the island about the same time. For more than a thousand years it had been known to the adventurous Arabs, and for many centuries to the enterprising Indian traders of Cutch and Bombay. Nor is it at all improbable that the Phenician merchants were acquainted with it through their "ships of Tarshish." 1 Kings x, 22. The classical writers mention it under various names. Marco Polo, the celebrated Venetian traveler, first revealed its existence to modern European nations in the thirteenth century. His account of the

rukh, or gigantic bird, indigenous to it, was long ridiculed as a traveler's fable, but within the past few years was seen to have a basis of fact in the now extinct *Æpyornis*. On the 1st of February, 1506, Fernando Soares, while on his way to Portugal in command of the eight spice ships of Francisco de Almeida, caught sight of the east coast of the island. In the same year Joãs Gomez d'Abreu discovered the west coast on the 10th of August, St. Lawrence's Day; from which circumstance it received the designation of San Lorenço. Tristran da Cunha also visited and made a chart of part of the coast. But the Portuguese had too many possessions in heathen lands to allow of any permanent occupation of Madagascar. From 1595 to 1598 the Dutch had some little intercourse with it, but with no profit to themselves. Nor did the French and English fare much better in subsequent attempts at colonization. Robert Drury, an English lad, who was shipwrecked on the south-west coast in 1702, and afterward detained as a slave for fifteen years, was the first author who gave authentic information about the inhabitants, their customs and superstitions.

Madagascar had always been portioned out by many indigenous tribes until a period about two hundred and thirty years ago, when the Sàkalàva, a small but warlike people, advanced from their home in the south-west, and conquered the western and also some northern and central clans. Founding two kingdoms, they retained supremacy up to the close of the eighteenth century, when the Hòva of Imérina, under the warlike Andrianimpòina, and Rādàma, his sòn, rebelled and established a nominal suzerainty over the Sàkalàva, vanquished the surrounding tribes, and made themselves the virtual masters of the whole island. The Hòva authority is now supreme over the central and eastern provinces, and nominal over much of the western. In the south-west the people are practically independent, and live under their own kings or chieftains.

Radàma I. (1810–28) claimed the sovereignty of the whole country, although controlling only about two thirds of it, by right of conquest. Shrewd, aggressive, and indomitable, he was a Malagasy Peter the Great. Perceiving that education and civilization are essential to national progress, by treaty with the Governor of Mauritius he abolished the exportation of slaves, and received in return a compensative annual grant of

arms, ammunition, and uniforms for his troops. English officers disciplined the latter. Thus assisted, he extended and consolidated his authority, cruelly enough, but with salutary results. Native youths were sent to Mauritius, and others to England, for education and instruction in some of the arts of civilization, and in seamanship. Mr. Hastie, the British agent resident at his court, wielded unusual influence over the monarch, and accomplished much for the material progress of the country.

In 1820 the agents of the London Missionary Society began their labors at the capital, reduced the language to a systematic written form, introduced the art of printing, translated and published the Holy Scriptures and other books, gathered numerous schools, and organized several Christian congregations. They also imparted knowledge of many of the useful arts, discovered valuable natural productions, and taught their preparation and manufacture to the people. The spread of religious and secular knowledge broke the spell of deadly superstition, and the Malagasy awoke to a new and inextinguishable spiritual life. Radàma died at the age of thirty-six. The loss of his keen good sense proved to be an irreparable calamity to his people. Ràvavàlona, one of his wives, succeeded to the throne. Superstitious, immoral, despotic, and suspicious, she aimed a terrible blow at Christianity. In 1835 the profession of it was declared to be illegal, all worship was prohibited, and Christian books were ordered to be given up. By the middle of 1836 the last English missionary had left the island. A twenty-five years' persecution followed. The formal charges preferred against the Christians in 1835 were:

1. They despise the idols; 2. They are always praying; 3. They will not swear, but merely affirm; 4. Their women are chaste; 5. They are of one mind with regard to their religion; and, 6. They observe the Sabbath as a sacred day.

These accusations appear to have been strictly true, but they redound to the highest credit of the accused. Like Dàniel, no fault could be found with them, except it were concerning the law of their God.

The scenes witnessed in the great African island, during this protracted and bloody persecution, exhibit a striking resemblance to those enacted in different parts of the Roman Empire under the Pagan emperors. The accusations, the cruel

outrages, the judicial murders by the authorities, the calmness, joy, and consistency of martyrs and confessors, all proceeded from the same sources as those of the early Church. This fiery trial culminated in 1849. From two thousand to three thousand Christians were fined, sold into slavery, poisoned, flogged, speared, burned alive, or thrown down the lofty precipice of the Malagasy Tarpeian rock at Antanànarìvo. The number of those who were "faithful unto death" has not been accurately ascertained: they were counted by thousands. But their record is on high, and their witness is with God.

The effect of these sanguinary severities on the people was deplorable. Governmental oppression provoked frequent rebellion, distant provinces were desolated by destructive wars, Europeans were excluded from the country, commerce with foreign nations came to an end. Cessation of the latter was due to an ill-judged attack on Tamatave in 1846 by one British and two French ships of war, designed to avenge wrongs inflicted upon foreign traders. But the leaven of Christianity could not be expunged. It was that which preserved Madagascar from utter corruption. To use the words of Tertullian, it was "the red rain that made the harvest grow." Besides the many who were martyred, hundreds were expatriated. These went every-where, "preaching the word." Twenty-five years afterward it was found that the number of professing Christians had increased, despite the persecutions, from twenty to thirty fold.

Intrigue and conspiracy against the queen, in which Madame Ida Pfeiffer and other foreigners were inculpated, recoiled on the plotters, who were punished by exposure to deadly malaria and banishment from the country. In 1861 Ràvavàlona died, and Radàma II. ascended the throne. Missionary labors recommenced, foreign trade sprang up again, and the younger, more intelligent, and influential people identified themselves with Christianity. But French intriguers essayed to subject the sovereign by treaty stipulations. This fact, together with the vices and insane follies into which he fell, occasioned his murder in 1863. Queen Rasòhérina, his wife, succeeding him, refused to ratify his agreement with the French, and preferred to pay them one million francs by way of indemnity. Steady advance in education, civilization, and treaty relations with the

French, British, and American governments illustrated her five years' reign. In 1868 Ràvanàlona II. assumed the scepter. One of her first acts was the public recognition of Christianity, which had acquired such tremendous momentum that her politic counselors advised her to place herself at its head. The idols were contemptuously ignored; but the Bible "occupied a conspicuous place close to the queen's right hand, while on the canopy over her head there were written in large characters words taken from the angelic hymn: 'Glory to God,' 'Peace on earth,' 'Good-will to men.' A new era had that day been inaugurated. In February, 1869, the queen and her husband, the prime minister, were baptized in presence of a multitude of the chief people of Madagascar; public worship was celebrated in one of the royal houses, and the foundation of the Chapel Royal was laid in the palace yard. In September of the same year all the idols in the central provinces were committed to the flames. The population willingly placed themselves under Christian instruction. Since then the London Missionary Society and the Friends' Foreign Mission Association have been the most forceful agents in effecting wonderful melioration.

With a people like the Malagasy, accustomed to move in crowds, and to follow implicitly any thing which is favored by their rulers, the effects of this government patronage may be easily imagined. The immediate results were an enormous numerical increase in the attendance upon Christian services; every chapel was crowded to excess; new places of worship were hastily erected in every village; the people eagerly came forward to be baptized and to become church members; and every missionary was pressed with work and felt overwhelmed with the responsibility thrown upon him. The number of congregations in the central province of Imérina increased in two years more than tenfold, and the attendants upon public worship in a somewhat less proportion; in fact, almost the whole population of Imérina professed themselves to be Christians.—SIBREE, pp. 252, 253.

Many of these eager converts were undoubtedly the subjects of regenerating grace, but more were actuated by motives of courtliness and policy. With equal readiness they would have professed Roman Catholicism or Mohammedanism had their rulers set the example. The missionaries of the Friends and of the London Missionary Society, working together in loving

concert, grouped the rural congregations into districts, introduced judicious discipline, and devoted themselves to instruction and pastoral supervision. The improvement of their flocks became markedly manifest. A dirty hemp or rofia làmba constitutes all the clothing for which an ordinary heathen Malagasy has any desire. But among the Christians "every woman must have her neat jacket and skirt of print or other stuff, and the men their shirts and pantaloons, as well as the flowing outer dress, or làmba (common to both sexes), of European calico." This fact indicates the intimate relation that Christianity sustains to manufactures and commerce. Consular returns prove that every missionary is worth $50,000 annually to European and American trade. In Madagascar his commercial value is rapidly rising, and in 1880 represented from $10,000 to $15,000 per annum of foreign imports.

The erection of the Martyr Memorial Churches (1864–1874) greatly stimulated the building art: Instead of being crowded into the single room of a wood or rush house, a Malagasy family now has in many cases two or three separate sleeping places. Further progress is undoubtedly desirable, but not more so than in the domicile of the British laborer, or in the New York tenement-house. Chastity and purity are held in increasingly high estimation. Polygamy is at an end in Imérina, and divorce is becoming infrequent. The sanctity of the marriage tie is appreciated, and Church censure of those who fail to respect it raises it ever higher in popular estimation. The observance of the Sabbath is secured by making it a legal day of rest. All public work is forbidden by the government; all markets are closed, public worship is encouraged by example, and public business is not transacted with unfaithful representatives of Christian powers. In all these particulars the new-born Christian nation is an example to those whose profession antedates its own by many centuries. Nor is it less so in relation to the vice of intemperance. Very stringent laws against the manufacture in or importation of ardent spirits into the central province are rigidly enforced. Inability alone prevents similar enforcement on the eastern coast, where English and French traders debauch and destroy the poor natives by yearly pouring upon it thousands of gallons of rum. "Civilization without religion," as Mr. Sibree remarks, "means

rum, rifles, and the vices of the Europeans." Religion—the religion of Christ—is alone the creator and conservative force of true civilization.

Cruel punishments for political and other offenses have fallen into disuse. So thoroughly has the kind and merciful spirit of the Gospel infused itself into the Hòva that in the last expedition against the Sàkalàva, in 1873, one of the divisions of the army returned without firing a shot, or taking a single life. Yet it thoroughly accomplished its mission. More than that, it conciliated the rebels by furnishing the best possible market for the sale of their produce, and by proclaiming to them, at the Lord's day worship held morning and evening in the camp, the glad tidings of salvation. "What is this religion which leads the Imérina people not to enslave us any more and take us away by force?" inquired the Sàkalàva; and they were answered, "Because Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the Redeemer of men, has given the Gospel to teach mankind to show mercy." The military expedition became a missionary expedition.

Too much is often anticipated from a lately redeemed people. Ten or ten times ten years are but a brief period in which to eradicate the evils, vices, and cruelties of uncounted centuries. Change is frequently on the surface; the leaven has not penetrated the depths. England once was papal or Protestant by turns, as royalty led the way. Can more be justly expected of Madagascar? It was only when multitudes were made "partakers of the divine nature" that England refused to tread in the footsteps of the Stuarts; and it is only when equal relative numbers of the Malagasy are "joined to the Lord in one spirit" that we may look for sturdy steadfastness and growth. Only one fourth of the Malagasy tribes have been affected hitherto; but from that fourth are radiating influences that will eventually transform the whole.

The College at Antanànarìvo, first called the London Missionary Society Theological Institution, was commenced in April, 1869, and was intended to meet a sorely felt necessity. The native Church then contained more than 200 pastors and 1,800 lay preachers. To these most of the preaching was perforce committed. That preaching was of the best quality at their command, but the best was very poor. In 1876 the usefulness

of the institution was extended by opening its doors to lay as well as ministerial students. The length of the course is four years for candidates for the ministry and three for seculars.

The subjects of study for all alike are grammar, geography (general and physical), arithmetic, algebra, Euclid, logic, simple lessons in mental and moral philosophy, the English language, and Old and New Testament history. Besides these more general subjects, the candidates for the ministry are taught historical, dogmatic, and exegetical theology, Church history, and homiletics; whilst the secular students study ancient and modern history, and the elements of physical science, besides paying more attention to the English language. . . . An annual meeting of missionaries, old students, and students still in the college pleasantly ends the year. ("Ten Years in Madagascar.")

More than 100 students have been trained and sent out into the ministry, and many others have been called to the incumbency of posts under the government. Carefully educated native teachers have become assistants in the work of instruction.

The queen and prime minister have sympathized most heartily with these efforts to enlighten and instruct the people, and have done all in their power to insist upon the necessity for education. The result has been an increase in the number of schools from 359 at the end of 1870 to 862 ten years after, in which 43,904 children are receiving a good elementary education. And there are now upward of 26,000 adults able to read. ("Report of the London Missionary Society," 1881.)

Mr. Shaw now (1885) writes:

From a schedule issued by the government, we find that after the completed registration there are 1,167 schools and 150,906 scholars, divided among the various societies thus:

	Schools.	Scholars.
London Missionary Society and Friends' Foreign Missionary Association	818	105,516
Norwegian Missionary Society	117	27,909
French Jesuit Mission	191	14,960
Society for the Propagation of the Gospel	41	2,521

Not less than 1,500,000 copies of publications of various kinds had been issued from the printing-press in the decade prior to 1881. But the arrival in February, 1874, of the Bible in the Malagasy language, supplied by the British and Foreign Bible Society at the low price of one shilling (or twenty-four cents) per copy, was the great event in the literary history of the country. The anxiety to obtain it was fully equal to that

of the American people to secure copies of the Revised Version of the New Testament from importers in New York a few years ago.

The news was announced in the numerous chapels throughout the country, and was received with great delight. For several weeks a large portion of the missionaries' time was occupied in selling Bibles. Some of the people came many miles with their shilling, in order to purchase a *Baiboly tapitra* (complete Bible). An edition of 20,000 of these shilling Bibles has been all but exhausted within the last six years. ("Ten Years in Madagascar.")

The statistics of the Malagasy Christians in ecclesiastical connection with the London Missionary Society (including four missionaries of the Friends' Association) in 1882, give the following totals: English missionaries, 28 (now 29); native ordained ministers, 64; native preachers, 4,134; church members, 71,585; native adherents, 244,197 (over 300,000 in 1885); schools, 862; scholars, 43,968; fees and local contributions, about $20,000. ("Report of London Missionary Society," 1882.)

These are exceedingly gratifying facts; and, notwithstanding the superficial character of much of the work indicated, still point out most marvelous results of evangelical enterprise. The dissenting Churches of Great Britain and Ireland have hitherto had the Christian good sense not to interfere with the Congregationalists in their blessed operations. The Friends work in unison with them. The same cannot be said of the Episcopalians. The "Church Missionary Society" wisely withdrew from the island in order to avoid confusion; but, in marked contrast to their discretion, the "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts" sent a missionary-bishop to Antanànarivo, and is doing its utmost to disturb the minds of the people by settling down in the very districts most thoroughly worked by the agents of the London Missionary Society. Bishop K. Kestrel-Cornish, in his report for the year 1881, complains of the opposition of those upon whose foundation he was endeavoring to raise his own superstructure. He reports the erection of three churches and three schools at the capital, and of a college at Ambatoharanana, in which a number of boys, some of whom were of high rank, were being very carefully educated. He hopes "eventually to bring the native Church of Madagascar to the condition of a pure branch of the

Church Catholic." Twelve clergymen, including himself, and forty-five foreign and native teachers, were then toiling toward this end.

Their claim to the title of the "Church Catholic" is zealously disputed by the Jesuit missionaries, who, in Madagascar as in the South Seas, have won unenviable notoriety as the bitterest adversaries of evangelical Christianity. With persistent energy, worthy of a better cause, and by bribery and other unfair means, they have striven and still strive to injure the work of the Protestants, extend their own influence, and make themselves the masters of Madagascar. Not content with buying the influence of chief men, they also descend to small bribery of the children, lying misrepresentations, hypocritical promises, and interference in the temporary dissensions of the Churches. The world is large enough for all Christian missionaries, if, instead of grasping at territory already occupied, the representatives of the "Catholic Church" and "Roman Catholic Church" would spread out into the heathen regions beyond.

The Norwegian Lutheran missionaries, who entered Madagascar in 1866, under arrangement with their British predecessors, chose the province of Bétsiléo, in which they found willing hearers. In 1870 Lars Dahle, the present superintendent of the mission, established a school for women and girls, and a training school for catechists, in connection with the central representative station at the capital. In 1874 their Church of the Cloven Rock at the same place was dedicated in presence of seventeen Norwegian missionaries laboring in Madagascar. Schools and orphanages multiplied, a mission press was provided, and a seminary for teachers was opened at Masinandreina in 1878. In 1883, out of 35,000 registered scholars, 30,000 were regular attendants. A second training school for teachers was then organized, and more than 500 teachers competent to give instruction in special branches introduced. The medical practice of the mission at Antanànarivo has been exceedingly successful. In two years Dr. Guldberg treated 14,000 patients, and performed many operations. In 1875 a mission among the Sàkalàva on the west coast, with its principal station at Morondava, was begun. Last year it returned 34 Sàkalàva Christians, 60 pupils in the schools, and

claimed credit for having put an end to the local slave-trade. In 1884 the central mission reported 4,861 members, 1,377 catechumens, and 38,000 members of congregations, distributed over 16 stations, in which are 211 houses of worship.

The government of Madagascar is theoretically despotic, but practically limited. Public opinion has gathered force commensurate with the growth of Christianity. New laws receive the united consent of the large *kabarys*, or popular assemblies, through the headmen of the different divisions of native society. This is a revival of the custom in use before the disciplined army of Radàma I. changed the limited monarchy into a despotism. Small garrisons of Hòva troops aid the governors appointed by the queen to uphold her authority in the central and eastern provinces, and also at most of the ports. Much of former dignity and power are left to the chiefs, and are conditioned on the performance of a specified amount of government service, and acknowledgment of the Hòva sovereignty. The prime minister is the husband of her majesty, Ràvàvalona III., as he was of her predecessor, and is virtually the king. Cultured ability and rare sagacity fit him for the office of principal adviser and administrator. To him is attributable the introduction of measures to modify the government, to improve the administration by weakening the oppressive feudal system, to remodel the army, appoint local magistrates and registrars, encourage education, and form a responsible ministry, with departments of justice, war, education, agriculture, commerce, and revenue. Such legislation is necessarily in advance of the conservative habits of the people. Formerly military service was demanded only of certain classes, and that for life, and without pay. Now it is compulsory on all, but for brief periods only. The Hòva army is computed at from 30,000 to 40,000 men, under officers whose military rank is graduated by the number of honors — from two to sixteen. English titles of military office are also used.

Justice hitherto has been administered by unpaid judges, appointed by the sovereign, and sitting in the open air. Crimes against the person are rare; against property — especially cattle-stealing raids among distant tribes — frequent. Revenue is derived from customs duties, first-fruits, fines, confiscations, money-offerings, called *hàsina*, to the queen and

her representatives, and levies upon the people for state necessities. Unpaid labor of all classes for all kinds of public work is also required by the government. English, French, and American consuls are accredited to the Malagasy sovereign, who has a consul in Great Britain and a consular agent in Mauritius.

The chief obstacle to the development and greatness of Madagascar is the hostility of the French. The understanding between their government and that of Great Britain, effected by Lord Clarendon, that each should respect the independence of the island, has not been observed by them. The Jesuits—those busy agents of mischief every-where—instigated France to refuse proffered indemnity for alleged losses of her citizens, and to demand submission to French protectorate, and governance by French officers. Prompt but courteous refusal was answered by the bombardment of Tamatave and other ports in June, 1883. For the injury that British subjects suffered thereby France was subsequently obliged to apologize and pay. The Jesuit missionaries and other French subjects were ordered to leave Antanànarìvo, allowed five days for the disposal or removal of their effects, and provided with sustenance and transportation to the French lines. This magnanimity was in striking contrast with the ruthless violence of the French, who drove the Hòva out of Tamatave at an hour's warning, and then seized all their goods.

Every effort that Christian good sense could devise had previously been made to come to an amicable understanding with the French Republic. In 1882 Queen Ràvanàlona II. sent embassadors of the highest rank to the governments of France, Germany, Great Britain, and the United States of America to protest against the proceedings of the French officers, and to ask for treaties with and protection from French aggression. In this they were largely successful. The treaty with the United States was ratified in March, 1883. By its terms the Hòva is recognized as the only *de facto* organized government upon the island. Provision is made for the protection of our commerce there and of the rights of the Malagasy here.

On the 13th of July, 1883, Queen Ràvanàlona II. died in the faith and hope of the Gospel, and was immediately succeeded by Ràvanàlona III., an equally excellent Christian lady. The

prime minister conducted public affairs until the following November, when the new queen, niece to her predecessor, was crowned. Espousing her, he still governs under her name. Former promise of the national future is not only undimmed, but shines with increasing luster. The extinction of all forms of slavery, the establishment of a regular parliament, and the consolidation of all the tribes in one Christian nationality, are included in the near prospect. The French aggressors, under Admiral Miot, make little or no progress. Re-enforcements are loudly called for. The sacrifice of life and treasure, without any compensation in glory or material results, condemns the invasion in the minds of the French people. The moral convictions of modern civilization are arrayed against it. Madagascar is, and of right ought to be, wholly independent. Black but comely, rejoicing in the light, instinct with Christian forces, and clothing herself with the brightest vesture of modern civilization, she is a welcome addition to the sisterhood of nations.

Art. IV.—THE FALL OF CONSTANTINOPLE;

OR, THE STORY OF THE FOURTH CRUSADE.

The Fall of Constantinople. Being the Story of the Fourth Crusade. By Edwin Pears, LL.B. Pp. 422. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1886.

The continued interest manifested by the whole civilized world in the so-called Eastern Question always insures a fair proportion of readers to any book bearing more or less directly upon that subject and having any thing new to say. To the average reader the term Eastern Question calls up simply the Turk and the Russian, and goes no farther back into history than the Crimean War of thirty years ago. There are those, however, who realize that to thoroughly understand the Eastern Question one must go back in the history of the coveted capital of the East, even to a period of at least five centuries before that calamity by which that fair capital fell into the hands of its present rulers.

Such students of history understand that it is not a question alone of "the sick man" of the East. It has a wider scope

and range than even Ottoman imbecility and Muscovite greed. It is a question of Asia and Europe, a question of cults, of barbarism and civilization, of Moslem sensuality and fanaticism, against Christian purity and philanthropy.

To those who wish to study in its widest range this Eastern Question, the present volume will prove very valuable, inasmuch as it covers a period not so fully treated by any English writer, and brings into a concise form materials which have been widely scattered in many libraries, and in different languages. The author, who is a barrister, and who was formerly editor of the "Law Magazine" of London, secretary of the Social Science Congress, and other kindred organizations, has resided for a number of years in Constantinople, and having been appointed by the British government Lecturer on Ancient Roman Law to the student *attachés* of Her Britannic Majesty's Embassy, has made a very complete study of what are technically termed the capitulations, as well as of the various anomalous legal and illegal usages of modern Constantinople, based upon ancient Roman law as modified by Byzantine cunning and Moslem fanaticism. In his study of Byzantine history he became impressed with the conviction that the destruction of the empire of New Rome was virtually accomplished by the Fourth Crusade, that being the event which caused the introduction of the Turks into Europe. "The Fall of Constantinople," therefore, which he has chosen as the title of his book, refers not to the capture of the city by the Turks in the memorable year 1453, but to that capture by the Latin Crusaders in 1204 through which the final subjugation to the Moslem power was rendered possible. His views upon the political aspect of that conquest of Constantinople, and its bearing upon the Eastern Question of to-day, may be clearly understood from the closing sentences of the preface:

> The conquest of Constantinople was the first great blunder committed by the West in dealing with the Eastern Question. That question really means whether Asiatic influences and an Asiatic religion are to be tolerated in Europe. "Europe for the Europeans" might at all times have been its battle-cry. Constantinople had been for centuries the strongest bulwark of defense against Asia. The men of the West had every interest to maintain and strengthen it. Instead of doing so they virtually let loose Asia upon Europe.—Pp. xiii, xiv.

It may at first sight surprise the reader to find that so large a portion—about one half in fact—of the work is taken up with prefatory matter; first we have a full description of the extent of the empire in the twelfth century; then the events which had weakened the empire, such as the attacks by the Seljukian Turks, and attacks from the North, also the internal or dynastic troubles, as well as the attacks from the West by the Normans and others. It will be found, however, that this first half of the book, although rather a long introduction, is nevertheless quite necessary to a thorough understanding of the subject by the general reader. Just as the student is wholly unprepared to comprehend the fall of Constantinople into Moslem hands in 1453 unless he be acquainted with the facts of its fall in 1204, so to comprehend that calamity in all its bearings due attention must be paid to the previous adverse influences which made such a conquest possible.

Our author goes back, indeed, to the period of the Basils, the first of whom came to the throne in 867, and he considers the period from 867 to 1057 as the most flourishing period of the empire of the New Rome, during which the empire gave everywhere signs of good government and great prosperity. The organization of the government of the empire was built upon the solid foundations of Roman administration and of Greek municipal government. From the selection of Byzantium as his capital by Constantine down to 1057 the machine of government had worked steadily and well.

> There had been security for life and property, and a good administration of law under a system of jurisprudence brought, indeed, from Rome, but developed in Constantinople—a system the most complete which the human mind has ever formulated, a system which has been directly copied or adapted by the whole of modern Europe, and which is the foundation of every body of jurisprudence now in use throughout the civilized world.—P. 4.

This very success, in the author's opinion, brought about centralization, which became the bane of the empire by weakening the spirit of municipal life. In the absence of representative institutions, the only government possible over a widely extended territory was absolutism. The rulers looked unfavorably on the municipalities, and tried in various ways, such as the employment of foreign mercenary troops and foreigners

in various offices of the administration, to become more independent of their own subjects. Absolutism thus gradually undermined the municipal spirit, although it was always kept somewhat in check through fear of the masses in the capital. The position of the emperor, associated as he was in the popular mind with divine authority, was somewhat analogous to that of the czar of to-day in the minds of the Russian peasantry. The difference between that idea and the idea of western Europe concerning the divine right of kings was, that in the latter it was claimed that certain families had been divinely chosen as rulers, and that their right was based upon this choice, while the eastern idea was rather that an inspiration or divine authority was granted them upon their appointment. The ruler was called "the Lord's anointed" by the Greek writers of the twelfth century, but not until after he had been anointed; and the people of Constantinople never lost sight of the fact that they had a right to appoint an emperor when there was a vacancy. The author does not attempt to conceal the fact that he is more favorably inclined to the Greeks than some such distinguished writers as Gibbon, Fallmerayer, and Finlay, who have preceded him. In this he follows, we think, the tendency of modern scholarship to give the Greek people more credit than they have hitherto received at the hands of European writers for the preservation of the language and the nobler qualities of their ancestors, as well as the tenets of the Christian faith.

European scholars are beginning to appreciate the fact that the language of Greece to-day is Greek, and the impress of ancient Greece is plainly visible upon the national types to be found among the Greeks of to-day.*

Fallmerayer says:

> In Christian Greece it was not, as in the West, that the spiritual power became *worldly*, but the *worldly* power became *spiritual*. Greece became one vast cloister, and herein lies the secret of the triumph of the crescent over oriental Christendom. The Greek had, in the cultivation of the religious idea, entirely lost the art of war, so that when the brutal Turk, with drawn sword, claimed the heritage of the Palæologi and the Comneni, he found only trembling cowards hoping for some miraculous deliverance. Such was the change wrought in the lapse of time, that the

* Tuckerman's "Greeks of To-day;" Jebb's "Greek Literature."

descendants of those men who at Platæa and Salamis had fought for the freedom of the human race came to think themselves contaminated by the touch of weapons of war, and betook themselves to church ceremonies in order to defend their fatherland against the barbarians.*

Finlay, in his monumental work, says:

Nothing could tend more to give us a correct idea of the real position of the Greek nation at the commencement of the eighth century than a view of the moral condition of the lower orders of the people, but unfortunately all materials, even for a cursory inquiry into this subject, are wanting. The few casual notices which can be gleaned from the Lives of the Saints afford the only authentic evidence of popular feeling. It cannot, however, escape notice that even the shock which the Mohammedan conquests gave to the orthodox Church failed to recall its ministers back to the pure principles of the Christian religion. They continued their old practice of confounding the intellects of their congregations by propagating a belief in false miracles and by discussing the unintelligible distinctions of scholastic theology. From the manner in which religion was treated by the eastern clergy, the people could profit little from the histories of imaginary saints and understand nothing of the doctrines which they were instructed to consider as the essence of their religion. The consequence was, that they began to fall back upon the idle traditions of their ancestors, and to blend the last recollections of paganism with new superstitions derived from a perverted application of the consolations of Christianity.†

To this picture may, perhaps, be added another quotation from Finlay:

The Byzantine Greeks always rejected the idea of progress; the Papal Church gave a progressive impulse to the Christian mind which it did not think of arresting until a century or two later. The Greeks prided themselves on their conservative, or, as they called it, their Roman, spirit. By clinging superstitiously to antiquated formulas they rejected the means of repairing a ruinous political fabric, and refused to better their condition by entering on paths of reform indicated by the western nations, who were already emerging from their social degradation. While the rest of Europe was actively striving to attain a happier future, the Greeks were gazing backward on what they considered a more glorious past. This habit of appropriating to themselves the vanished glories of the Roman Empire, or of ancient Greece, created a feeling of self-sufficiency which repudiated reform in the latter days of the Byzantine Empire, and which has ever since

* Fallmerayer, "Geschichte des Kaiserthums von Trapezunt."

† Finlay's "History of Greece from its Conquest by the Romans to the Present Time. B. C. 146 to A. D. 1864." 7 vols. Oxford. Vol. i, p. 423.

retarded the progress of the modern Greeks in the career of European civilization.*

The Fourth Crusade took place under the reign of Alexius, brother of Isaac Angelos. Its story is narrated in detail by Nicetas Choniates, who speaks of it as an eye-witness, and whose work is to be considered, perhaps, the most trustworthy of all the historic sources on this subject. It is the Third Book of Nicetas ("De Alex. Comn.," § 8) which treats especially of these facts.

For the narrative of the period immediately preceding the Fourth Crusade perhaps the best original authority is the writer known as William of Tyre, who wrote about 1180. He was a native of Palestine, educated somewhere in Europe, probably in Paris. He himself states that he quitted Syria about the year 1163, in order to pursue his studies. He became afterward an archdeacon, and was tutor to the prince who became King Baldwin IV. He was employed in some important diplomatic affairs, and in 1174 took the title of Archbishop of Tyre. He undertook to write a complete history of Palestine, and, although his work was never completed, breaking off in the twenty-third volume, and cannot be said to be free from error, yet in the vast amount of material employed, and the intimate knowledge of Saracenic life which it displays, it ranks deservedly among the greatest historical works of the age to which it belongs.

The magnificent folio volumes of the collection of oriental and occidental writers upon the Crusades, published in 1875 by the Institute of France,† is of course the great repertory of original authorities upon this prolific subject. Although these same materials have been used to a greater or less extent by Mills in English, by Wilken in German, and by Michaud in French, in their respective histories of the Crusades, and by the smaller popular works of later days, yet the grouping of these facts in the volume before us will be found to be new, and the volume (of 422 pages) will, we doubt not, be welcomed by the critical student as a valuable contribution to the literature of this subject.

The chapter on Christianity and Islam, or rather the one

* Finlay, "History of Greece," vol. iii, p. 280.

† "Recueil des Historiens des Croisades." 1875.

which treats of the weakening of the empire by the attacks of the Seljukian Turks, is well wrought out. It is especially of interest to the Christian reader to note the impression made upon the mind of an experienced jurist, by contact with the highest and most cultivated forms of Mohammedanism, during his residence in the Mohammedan capital. It has come to be the fashion for a certain class of writers to disparage Christianity by writing up Mohammedanism and Buddhism. The ignorance and superstitions, the weaknesses and the vices, of the eastern Christians have been dwelt upon, and even exaggerated, as a means of attack upon Christianity itself. The most unsuspecting reader cannot fail to detect, for example, in Gibbon's most brilliant descriptions, a most bitter animus against the Christian religion. So also Fallmerayer in his "History of the Trebizond Empire" ("Geschichte des Kaiserthums von Trapezunt") is constantly sneering at the unwarlike character of Christianity, and its consequent inadaptability to be the religion of a brave and successful people, ready to resist tyranny and throw off the yoke of an oppressor.*

In the use of such sad examples as are unfortunately too frequent in the history of the East, even down to the present day, by those who are not in sympathy with Christianity in any form, a certain glamour has been thrown about Mohammedanism which needs to be dispelled. There are those who, under the influence of these modern fallacies concerning the utter and hopeless apostasy of the oriental Christians and the superiority of Mohammedanism over oriental Christianity, allow their sympathies in the struggles still going on in the Turkish Empire to be with the Crescent instead of the Cross, and with the oppressor instead of with the oppressed. To such the deliber-

*"Wer nicht mit Rousseau annimt stupide Barbarei sey der vollkommenste Zustand der Menscheit oder nicht mit vielen neuren den Grundsatz vertheidigt Heranbildung zur politischen und geistigen Freiheitführe zum Aufstande gegen göttliche und menschliche Autorität; und ascetisch zu werden an Denk und Handels weise sey die letzte Aufgabe der Nationen; der muss eingestehen der schmähliche Fall der Griechen sey ein Wink durch welchen der Urheber der Natur die Sterblichen belehren wollte, dass es eine Thorheit sey, mit Vernachlässigung oder Verachtung irdischer Anstalten die Menschen gleichsam zu entsinnlichen, und in die Traümereien einer metaphysischen Glückseligkeit zu versenken ohne dabei die Hoffnung zu verlieren dem Drucke irdischer Uebermacht zur zeit der Prüfung und Gefahr Widerstand leisten zu können."—FALLMERAYER, *Gesch. des Kais. von Trapezunt, Vorrede.*

ate expression of opinion from one who knows as to the debasing influence of Mohammedanism may not be agreeable, but it is none the less true. The great fact is brought out plainly by him, that in Mohammedanism we have a system claiming to be a religion which is based upon and built up of sensualism. This sensualism is sometimes disguised in euphemistic garb, and given forth by western admirers as the soul ecstasies of the rapt spiritual mystic, while the voluptuous oriental sees through the thin, gauzy covering of polite terminology, and is thrilled thereby with the basest passions of a depraved nature. There are forms of sensuality also which cannot be described, and can only be alluded to by the writer of a work for general circulation. This is what makes the oriental Christian father look with abhorrence upon the association of his son with his Moslem neighbors. The barrier so well known to exist between Moslem and Christian in eastern lands is especially caused by the grosser forms of sensuality existing among the former, and which have in all ages of the Christian Church been regarded by her adherents with horror. There is no doubt but this sensuality, while it gave to a barbarous people their first warlike and progressive impulse, yet in time worked as a poison to eat out the life of the race, causing its physical as well as moral decay.

The modern Turks have diminished in numbers, have been incapable of advancing in civilization, have lost ground and become weaker through their sensuality, and especially through that form of it which is least known where Christianity prevails. The inevitable and invariable history of Moslem races, after the first spurt has been spent which Monotheism had given them, has been the same—decay in family life; spasmodic attempts to bring about a revival of religious and political life; steady but sure decay.—Pp. 22, 23.

W. Gifford Palgrave, a good authority with all those acquainted with his remarkable and eccentric career, says: "Convulsive fanaticism alternating with lethargic torpor—transient vigor followed by long and irremediable decay—such is the general history of Mohammedan governments and races."

Where family life is impossible, where the grosser forms of sensualism are practiced and talked of, and where the sensualistic ideas have so permeated the language of the people that

the common language of vituperation among the common people, even in the case of children and women, is untranslatably vile, the student of history is compelled, upon ethnological grounds alone, to conclude that the race is doomed to extinction. To attempt to place it above the Christian races in social qualities and manly vigor is an insult to the intelligence of the age. The deliberate judgment of the author is this:

> I am willing to admit that thousands of Moslems are better than their creed. But, judging such creed historically, looking over the centuries and avoiding individual cases, if the practical rule, "By their fruits shall ye know them," be applied, the conclusion cannot be evaded that Moslemism is a mischievous creed, and, except on its first adoption, is a direct hinderance to progress in a nation.—P. 24.

As to his opinion of the comparison between Islamism and Christianity we make the following quotation:

> Weighed in the balance against the lowest and most degrading form of Christianity it is found wanting. No matter how completely even an Abyssinian or Chaldean Christianity has forgotten the body of principles which western Churches have treasured, it has yet never invented a theory by which it becomes degrading for a man to live as an equal with his wife and children. It has never tolerated polygamy, or recognized the sinlessness of concubinage. It has never allowed marriages for a limited time, or an almost unchecked power of divorce and exchange, or allowed the husband to repudiate his wife without any reason being assigned and without warning. It has never made rules as to intercourse with slaves which make the abolition of slavery impossible in Moslem states. Lastly, no form of Christianity, or any other great religious system, has ever offered to its followers a heaven whose enjoyments are purely sensual. The advance made under certain forms of Christianity has been often slow, but the fault cannot fairly be laid to the charge of Christianity itself.—P. 23.

During the darkest period of the last Russo-Turkish war the European friends of Turkey—and they were many in number—who sympathized with her in her misfortunes, were disappointed and mortified by certain police orders which, it was understood, emanated from high authority. These announcements rehearsed the sad reverses which had overtaken the empire whose name had once been a terror to all Europe. The depletion of the imperial treasury, the ruin of the public credit, the revolt of valuable provinces, and the serious reverses to the Ottoman arms, were all alluded to, and then the cause of

all these disasters was gravely alleged to be the shameless conduct of the Turkish women in wearing French high-heeled boots, and in wearing veils of too thin a texture. The degree of fineness which was to be the limit for the texture of the veils was then officially given, expressed in numbers as known to the trade, and the police were directed to remove forcibly, on the public promenades of the capital, any boots of the obnoxious style found on the dainty feet of Mohammedan belles. No more striking proof of the hopeless imbecility of the Ottoman government could probably be found than that supplied by the above incident. It may safely be predicted that no nation whose martial spirit and national energy depend upon the thickness of the women's veils can ever hope to maintain itself among the nations of the earth in the struggle for life. The general effect of such ideas with regard to woman is well described by the author as follows:

> Woman has every-where held under the Moslem rule an inferior position, and the inevitable result ensues after a few generations that the whole race has become less moral, less manly, and less intelligent. To regard her as existing for the purposes of pleasure or of propagation, and as necessarily degraded in thought, and therefore requiring to be watched lest she should be unfaithful, is to degrade her, and implies keeping her in ignorance and shutting her off from the education obtained by contact with the world. To degrade generations of mothers is to degrade the race itself.—P. 207.

One of the saddest evidences of moral degeneracy in the Byzantine people in the period under consideration is a certain visible Asiatic taint in their social life from the proximity of those corrupting forces. Women began to be regarded something in the Asiatic way, and, although without polygamy, a kind of harem life was kept up by some of the fast-living nobles. Worst of all, one of the worst institutions of Asiatic social life, that of *eunuchs*, had been introduced. Only five years before the Latin conquest a eunuch had been prefect of Constantinople. It is no secret among residents of that city at the present day that one of the most influential personages of the empire is a Negro, the chief eunuch of the imperial palace, the so-called Keeper of the Gate of Felicity.

With the death of the Emperor Manuel in the year 1180 commenced a series of fierce dynastic disputes and partisan

wars which, perhaps more than any other cause, weakened the empire and prepared its downfall. Manuel's son, a mere boy, reigned less than three years, and was bowstrung when only fifteen years old. From the accession of his murderer, Andronicus, as his successor, there followed a long and sad succession of dynastic wars, in which the sword of the Turk was employed sometimes upon the one side and sometimes upon the other, but every time for the weakening of the Christian empire and for the strengthening of Islam. The Saladin of Michaud the historian, and of Scott the novelist, with his chivalric qualities which proved him a foeman worthy of the steel of the proudest plumed knight of western chivalry, belonged to this period, and did much for the extension of Islam and the gradual tightening of its hold upon the empire. The expenses of maintaining the struggle with these contending forces were so enormous that the empire was forced to make suicidal exactions from its people to meet these demands until they became insupportable. The imperial treasury was not only drained, but the resources of the people as well. Whole towns and villages became a waste and disappeared from the map, and extensive fertile tracts which formerly supported a large population were allowed to pass out of cultivation. A number of the ancient towns of classic interest in Asia Minor, whose sites are with difficulty identified by the archæologist, disappeared from view, and became lost to geography during this period. It is a noteworthy fact that many of the subjects of the empire voluntarily expatriated themselves, and emigrated from the territories thus burdened with taxation into those where some politic sultan had been shrewd enough to hold out more attractive inducements to cultivators of the soil. The spectacle is indeed a sad one which is presented before the eye of the thoughtful student—the ever-increasing stream of Moslem tribes, in spite of all their numerous defeats, sweeping on from the East like an army of locusts, filling up the places of their slaughtered thousands with fresh hordes of recruits drawn together by fanaticism and the hope of plunder, closing in upon the doomed empire, draining its resources, wasting its strength, terrorizing over the people, and demoralizing its leaders.

During the century and a half preceding the Latin conquest of Constantinople, in 1204, constant inroads were being made

also upon the empire by Hungarians, Wallachians, Bulgarians, and Servians, as well as by others who have gone down in the subsequent struggles, and their names have disappeared from the pages of modern history. Probably no other such example can be found in history of a combination of adverse forces against a state as that which was gathering against the New Rome. The empire at one time had shown a remarkable capacity for assimilating the various races which had been flowing into it, and had fairly succeeded in that which is so necessary to the conservation of every great state, namely, the binding together the different elements of the population by a common bond of sympathy and interest; but at this period these heterogeneous and antagonistic elements had come in so rapidly, and in such vast numbers, as to overtask the powers of assimilation, and to clog the machinery of government at a time when every nerve had to be strained in the struggle for life. When in the story, so well told in the book before us, we see in addition to the above difficulties the two broad streams of Asiatic barbarians—one to the north and the other to the south of the Black Sea—flowing in upon Europe, and we behold the Eastern Empire compelled alone to bear the part of a breakwater for western Europe, we realize more fully the position of that empire, and sympathize more readily with it in its struggles against such fearful odds. The author, in reminding the reader of the late example furnished by the war in the Soudan of the fanatical zeal of newly made Mohammedan converts, says:

> The hordes of Asia which hurled themselves on the imperial armies of New Rome were filled with the like new-born zeal for their faith, but they had the advantage of an almost boundless reserve of men behind them and the richest spoils of the world open for them to plunder in case of success. As the magnificent German army of the Third Crusade fought and defeated every attack of the Turks between Marmora and Syria with the result only that it had itself melted away by the time it reached its destination, so the imperial armies had again and again, by virtue of their superior discipline, defeated the armies of the same enemy only to find that after a few months another army had come into existence, and that new battles had again to be fought.—P. 177.

The contrast between the results of the struggle in western Europe with the Moslem power and that sustained in the East

with the same power, and the advantages possessed by the former, are well set forth, and the causes of the more speedy victory of the West explained. The victory of Charles Martel at Tours is considered by all the historians to have been the decisive event which saved all western Europe from an overwhelming African Moslem invasion, but the almost contemporaneous defeat of the Arabs before Constantinople our author considers an equally great victory for the cause of civilization. The difference was, that in the West the enemy was so far away from his base of supplies that a crushing defeat was decisive, and ended the struggle, while in the East these victories had to be repeated over and over again, and whole generations of men from the Eastern Empire had to be sacrificed in saving European civilization.

It is of course useless to speculate what might have been if certain of those events which go to make up the web of history had not happened; but in this case the temptation is unusually strong to reconstruct the chart of history as well as the map of the world in accordance with the altered conditions. On the Bosphorus would have remained the capital of an empire which, with its record of twelve centuries of Greek letters and commercial prosperity, of literary and artistic development, at least furnished the nucleus from which might have been expected the regeneration of the regions beyond. That imperial city which had "bridged over the dark centuries of turmoil" which intervened between the pagan civilizations and those of Christianity, and which had been simply "continuing history" while the nations of the West had been passing through their formative and embryonic stage, might have become an important factor in those grand reforms which have occupied the pens and tongues of patriots and philanthopists of the past six centuries. When we remember the quarter whence proceeded so much of that intellectual activity and that independence of religious thought which culminated in the work of Luther and Melanchthon, we cannot help thinking of the still greater result which might have been reached had that empire been permitted to stand. As the author says:

> We who have seen an Italy resurgent, and Greece and Bulgaria re-entered among civilized nations, may well refuse to believe that an intelligent people who were at that time the first

in civilization would not have shaken off their religious and political apathy, would not have had recovered the strength which they had expended in resisting external attacks, and would not have had their reformation in religion and their democratic revolution in politics.—P. 225.

To the critical student, perhaps, the greatest service rendered by the learned author of the work before us is, the excellent analysis given by him of a deeply interesting historical problem which is still occupying the attention of European scholars, and upon which considerable light has been thrown by the recent investigations of Count Riant, Charles Hopf, and others given in communications made to various learned societies.* Many of these materials have never appeared, so far as we know, in an English dress, and the summary of them here given, and worked up with the author's legal acumen and skill, is especially valuable.

The problem involves what may be called "the true inwardness" of the Fourth Crusade, and the trustworthiness of Villehardouin and other official sources of information which have been followed by Gibbon and Finlay, and most writers on the subject down to a period of not more than fifteen or twenty years ago.

The fact being generally accepted, that the original plan of the Crusade was to strike first at Egypt and thence proceed to attack Babylon, or Bagdad, as the most vital point at which to deal a death-blow to the Saracenic power, many explanations have been proposed to account for the disastrous change of plan fraught with such calamities to Christendom. What occult influence turned aside that mighty stream of chivalric warriors rushing with fiery zeal to save the Holy Land and to remove "the shame of Christ," and caused them, instead of attacking the infidel, to attack and ravage the inoffensive Christian town of Zara, whose inhabitants had done them no harm? What spell was thrown over these knightly warriors to make them forget their vows to use their swords against the enemies of the Cross, and for the protection of helpless women and innocent maidens, and lead them into such horrible scenes

* Comte Riant, "Innocent III., Philippe de Souabe, et Boniface." Paris, 1875. Also, "Revue des Questions Historique," and "Exuviæ Sacræ Constantinopolitanæ." Geneva, 1867.

of rapine and plunder as characterized the perpetration of the great crime against Christendom which was committed in the capture and sacking of the Christian city of Constantinople? The question involves many nice points in the study of human action and motives, and is all the more interesting to the student from the care taken by interested parties to conceal or suppress the truth. It has been suspected that the fiery preacher Fulk, whose burning eloquence had aroused so many rich men to contribute of their wealth and so many knights to give their swords to the sacred cause, and who died in 1202, not long after he had affixed the cross to the shoulder of Boniface, Marquis of Montferrat, as the leader of the Crusaders, if he had chosen to leave to the world a private journal, might have revealed more than any other man could have done of the secret springs of this strange and inconsistent action.

Some have thought that the whole scheme was the product of the covetous mind of Philip of Suabia, with whom Boniface is known to have had an interview soon after his investment of the leadership of the expedition. As shown in the work entitled "Acts of Innocent III.,"* Boniface went from Philip's court with an embassy to Rome, asking Pope Innocent III. to espouse the cause of the young Alexis, the claimant to the Byzantine throne, who had made his escape from prison in Constantinople, and had found his way to Sicily, and according to some to Germany to the court of his brother-in-law Philip. This Alexis being the son and heir of Isaac Angelos, who had been deposed, blinded, and kept prisoner in the city of Constantinople, and whose daughter Philip had married, a magnificent opportunity was afforded Philip of advancing the interests of his own house (he was the head of the Ghibellines) in making use of the claims of poor Alexis. It seems, at least, tolerably well established that some time before the expedition started, its leader, Boniface, had promised Philip to aid him in carrying out his little dynastic scheme, in which were mingled visions of imperial power, in which "poor Alexis" bore only a subordinate part.

Boniface was a man well suited to Philip's purpose, being himself of a family six of whose members had contracted marriages with the imperial family of Constantinople. He had family

* "Gesta Innoc. III."

grievances and personal claims which made him cherish any thing but kindly sentiments toward the Eastern Empire, and disposed him to enter heartily into the proposal of Philip.

The most difficult task of all to be accomplished was to bring over Pope Innocent III. to the plan without publicity, which would have proved fatal to success. The Pope's well-known desire for some basis of compromise or reunion between the Eastern Church and the Western was seized upon by the crafty conspirators, and "poor Alexis" had a solemn audience with the Pope and Cardinals. As an inducement for the Pope to aid and support him in obtaining his rights, in which he averred that he had the sympathy of the whole people, he promised to aid in bringing about a union of the Churches. Boniface himself came on to Rome a few days after and repeated the tempting offer, but the grand old Pontiff refused to accept the bribe. Whatever may have been his other defects, in this matter he seems, from the historic evidence here adduced, to have been true to his high office, and to have refused to be a party to the great fraud proposed to be played upon the Christian zeal of Western Europe.

The conspirators, baffled but not discouraged, turned to Venice, and found there in the crafty and unscrupulous "Bride of the Sea" the means of accomplishing their design without the concurrence, and in spite of the protest, of the incorruptible Pontiff. Venice, in entering into the scheme, did so upon her own account, and, as is shown by the author, had already of her own accord betrayed all Christendom most shamefully by making with the Sultan of Egypt, in July, 1202, a secret treaty by which she had bound herself to divert the expedition from its intended attack upon Egypt in consideration of certain valuable concessions and advantages of trade over her other Italian rivals. Having begun to make her own selfish use of the advantage which her maritime position afforded her for the transportation of the Crusaders, and having them at her mercy, she was ready to enter upon any filibustering scheme which would promise a good share of plunder. The veteran Doge Dandolo was therefore put forward as the representative of Venice in the unhallowed copartnership, to look after the interests of the Republic, and at the same time to advance some of his own personal interests, and to avenge some of his own private

wrongs suffered at the hands of the Byzantine Greeks, which injuries, whether they were physical, such as the blinding of his eyes by order of the Emperor Manuel, as claimed by some, or were simply political and personal insults, at any rate had filled him with an implacable hatred against the Eastern Empire. The white-haired and almost, if not quite, blind old Henry Dandolo coming before the high altar in the great cathedral of St. Mark, being invested with the insignia of the Cross, and assuming the vows of a Crusader, becoming not only the leader of the Venetian contingent, but, by virtue of his venerable mien and his transcendent genius, the head and brain of this vast army to lead it at his will to the accomplishment of his own selfish aims, is one of the saddest spectacles of perverted genius afforded in history. The author, in speaking of the conduct of Venice, says:

> Enough might have been gathered from a careful search of the authorities known to exist even in the time of Gibbon to raise a strong presumption against the good faith of Dandolo, Boniface, and Philip of Suabia. But it has been reserved to our own time to complete the evidence against them; to prove, almost to demonstration, that the expedition was diverted from its purpose through the cupidity and treason of Venice, and that from this cause the army was converted into a band of robbers, who were to commit the great crime of the Middle Ages by the destruction of the citadel against which the hitherto irresistible wave of Moslem invasion had beaten and had been broken.—P. 268.

The parts performed respectively by Philip of Suabia, by Boniface the Marquis of Montferrat, and by Henry Dandolo, doge and representative of Venice, in this conspiracy are set forth with clearness and with convincing proofs. The reader is led on from step to step in the investigation, and there is very graphically portrayed before him the attack upon Zara, the council of barons and chiefs held there, their grumbling and discontent on finding themselves led into fighting against the Christian enemies of their Venetian allies instead of against the common enemy of Christendom; the illusive promises by which these murmurings were quieted; the gradual unfolding of the plot while at Corfu, and the appearance of "poor Alexis" in the camp of the Crusaders as "the rightful heir" whom they were called upon in the name of justice to put in possession of his rights, and the process of working over the

consciences of the leaders by the intimations of the imperial recompense naturally to be expected for such services, until at length the Holy Land appears so far away, and the imperial city with its palaces and treasures is so near at hand, that the postponement of the Palestine campaign until another season is at length accepted, and their cross-bearing zeal melts away at the sight of material treasures so close to them.

In 1878, when the victorious Russians had fought their way through from the Danube across the Balkans to the Marmora, and halted at San Stefano, on the shore of the Marmora, and gazed upon the glittering domes and graceful minarets not more than a dozen miles away, doubtless many a Cossack wondered why they should stop out there and not be permitted to enter the coveted city, save as peaceful visitors under the strictest orders of good conduct, after a treaty of peace had been signed. They would have said that the treaty should have been signed in the great mosque of St. Sophia, followed by a grand Te Deum and the solemn reconsecration of that noble temple to be forever after used as a Christian church. Had a popular vote of the army been taken such would have undoubtedly been the decision. But the leaders of that army knew that the solemn word of the czar had been pledged that no hostile entrance of Constantinople should be attempted. They knew, also, that this word was backed up by England's iron-clad fleet and Germany's mighty army, and that although the prize could be grasped it could never be held. The crusading hosts from the same spot viewed the same prize in the full possession of many beauties of which she has since been robbed. They had no reckoning with their neighbors to fear. The prize was so lovely that really we cannot wonder that the temptation was too strong for men like Dandolo, Boniface, and Philip, and the men who surrounded them.

The subsequent story of that eventful year, from the arrival of the fleet on the eve of St. John the Baptist, June 23, 1203—a year so fraught with results in Christian history—is well told, and the stirring events set forth in their order with sufficient fullness of detail, yet concisely and attractively. The arrival of the fleet at San Stefano, on the Marmora—the preparations of the city for defense—the attacks and repulses—the ignominious flight of the Emperor Alexis—the baffling of the

plans of the Crusaders by the restoration of Isaac Angelos, father of young Alexis, to the throne—negotiations with the Crusaders as to the payments promised by the young man—the discontent of the Greeks with the young Alexis, their new emperor—his dethronement and the elevation of Murtzouphlos to the throne—the siege of the city, the murder of the young Alexis, and the flight of Murtzouphlos, the storming of the citadel, and the capture of the city with its scenes of horror and brutality, and, finally, the seating of Baldwin, the Count of Flanders, upon the throne of the Cesars—follow like the scenes of a panorama, and are all comprised in the story of that one eventful year.

Such are the facilities of modern travel, and the consequent multiplication of books of travel, that the topography of Constantinople and its vicinity is pretty nearly as well known to the average English or American reader as is that of Vienna or St. Petersburgh, or any other European capital. To those in any degree familiar with the condition of the capital of the Turkish Empire to-day, the chapter on the condition of Constantinople in 1200, and its comparison with the present, will be found deeply interesting. No lover of ancient art can read without a pang the description of the treasures which were still standing at that time, but which have disappeared forever, and of which the bronze horses now adorning the Church of St. Mark in Venice serve as most tantalizing samples. Had all the works of art now missing been carried off like those famous horses, and preserved for modern study, one might to a certain extent excuse the spoilers; but the barbaric greed which melted down for the sake of the bronze those masterpieces of statuary excites one's indignant contempt. The colossal Samian Juno, which adorned the Forum of Constantine, Paris presenting the apple to Venus, the colossal Hercules of Lysippus brought from Tarentum to Rome and thence to Constantinople, and many other priceless treasures of ancient skill, were melted down by the barbarians and coined into money for the more ready distribution of the plunder among the soldiery. Their taste in the matter of sacred relics was much more appreciative. Here was something which, unlike the matchless products of ancient genius, could be counterfeited without great risk of detection. It was even claimed

for some kinds of relics that they possessed some miraculous kind of self-multiplying power, or rather, a kind of "leavening" agency, by which from a minute portion of some genuine relic a large mass of similar but modern material might become entirely "leavened," made sacred, and possessed of the same miraculous power as the original fragment. Something analogous to this is found in the East at the present day in the popular superstition among the lower classes concerning the value of antique coins. It is supposed by very many, that the reason why Europeans interest themselves in old coins, and sometimes pay enormous prices for them, is, that these coins possess this "leavening" property, and can thus be used in the process of transmuting the baser metals into silver or gold.

The shrewd Crusaders were not slow in availing themselves of the tremendous power which the possession of coveted relics, whether genuine or spurious, would give them in the countries from which they had come. They well knew that a relic would purchase for them, more readily than gold, absolution for the violation of their most sacred vows. It is quite possible, also, that their credulity was imposed upon by the crafty Orientals, who in this way took their revenge for the plunder of their choicest treasures. This whole subject of relics, genuine and pretended, and their influence upon the Western Church, is one of very great interest to the student of ecclesiastical history; and although its full consideration is beyond the scope of the book which is the subject of this article, yet the student will find in it some valuable suggestions.*

As to the genuineness of sacred relics, every one must admit the possibility of some such objects of veneration having been preserved even down to that period. Objects belonging to an undoubtedly more remote period of antiquity fill our museums and art collections. It is therefore quite possible that certain objects of a durable nature connected with the life history of Christ or of his apostles should have been preserved by the early Christians. It is when the relic mongers, however, talk of the relic of the "sacred tear" or the "drop of blood" or the "thorn from the crown," the "sleeveless garment," or the "girdle," the

* A comparatively recent work quoted freely by the author, "Exuviæ Sacræ Constantinopolitanæ," Riant, 1867, will be found to be a complete repertory of curious information upon the subject.

"sponge," the "reed," the "bloody sweat," etc., that we turn away with wonder and disgust from the silly attempt at imposition. It is, indeed, very difficult for us to conceive how the people of Europe, in the thirteenth century, could be persuaded in any way to regard such objects as genuine. We can hardly conceive of any thing more directly calculated to emasculate the intellectual life of a people, and to sap the foundation of all true spiritual life as well, than the forcing upon them, by the sanction of the highest spiritual authority, such palpable absurdities and such gross frauds. The great wrong committed by the Christians of the West against those of the East has been thus terribly avenged upon the Western Church in furnishing them with the material and the opportunity for these "pious frauds," and keeping back for centuries the cause of spiritual reform and progress in Europe. Along with the literary treasures of classic wealth there came from the East to the Western Church this Centaur gift which is still clinging to the Church of Rome, shocking the reason and straining severely the faith of the best men among her adherents.

It is quite probable, as the author suggests, that relic worship never attained such proportions in the Eastern as in the Western Church, and that the eastern spirit was less gross or more spiritual than that of the West, whose people, from the earnestness of their character, were more prone to carry the veneration of relics into a kind of fetich worship than were the easy-going Christians of the East. It has been claimed for the Greeks of classic times, as well as of the times of the apostles, that their idolatry was rather a system of *symbolism* than a worshiping of stone and bronze, "the works of men's hands." It is claimed that the actual worship of statues or images, in the modern sense of the term, was essentially an Asiatic idea, and not the pure Greek idea. There may be something in this, although we are not prepared to admit the full extent of the claim in palliation of Greek idolatry. There is no question, however, that from a Protestant point of view the Greek Church has always had a certain amount of advantage over the Roman Church in the matter of image worship. However unsatisfactory to a western mind may seem the argument for the rigid rule which excludes all *images* but permits of *paintings* being used in churches as aids to devotion, yet it cannot

be denied that this distinction, thus enforced and perpetuated in the usage of the Greek Church, is a standing protest against pagan idolatry, or the substitution in the devotions of the people of the image instead of the object which it represents.* It will be admitted, also, that while the ignorant masses of the eastern Christians have been in the habit of using pictures and relics as talismanic charms, yet the Eastern Church has never been committed quite so positively to the official indorsement of the miraculous virtues attributed to them as the Church of Rome continues to do, even in the light of the present century.

The richest treasures of ancient art and the most venerated relics of Christian antiquity were not sufficient in themselves to satisfy the ambition or satiate the thirst of the victors for power. The Church party kept steadily in view the great scheme of the unification of the Church—the bringing of all Christians into "one fold under one shepherd"—while the secular party had also its own plans for the restoration of the great Roman Empire. As might have been expected from the individual characters of the different participators in the great plot by which the fair eastern capital was given over to plunder, dissensions very soon arose over the distribution of the rich spoils. Rival factions were, however, sufficiently appeased and opposing interests blended as to agree upon the final grand prize of all, that of the sovereignty. The Earl Baldwin of Flanders was elected Emperor on the 9th of May, by the midnight conclave of the twelve electors (six Venetian nobles and six ecclesiastics chosen by the Crusaders), and his election was by vote made unanimous. On the 16th of the same month, which was Sunday, took place the magnificent coronation ceremony. The emperor elect, according to the ancient custom, was raised up on a shield supported on the shoulders of the nobles, and conducted in solemn procession to the great Church of Saint Sophia, and there invested with the cloth of gold and

* Archbishop Platon, Metropolitan of Moscow, in his "Pravoslavnoye Utchenye" (Orthodox Doctrine), in commenting upon the second commandment (I quote from memory), says, that they sin against this commandment who in any way make the picture the object of devotion instead of the being whom the picture represents; and they also sin against this commandment who venerate more highly a picture executed by some skillful artist than one less skillfully executed: that it is the object thus brought before the mind to which the devotion should be paid, not the picture nor the artist nor art itself as shown in some masterpiece.

with the imperial sword. The imperial crown was placed upon his head by the papal legate, and the customary ἄξιος! ἄξιος!—"He is worthy!"—which is still perpetuated in the installation ceremonies of the Greek Patriarch of Constantinople—was repeated by the bishops and taken up by the multitude until the air resounded with the cry. Thus was Baldwin of Flanders crowned, and a Frank emperor seated upon the throne of Constantine. The concluding part of the story, as told by our author, consists mainly of a discussion of the effect produced in Europe by the news of the capture of Constantinople and the overthrow of the Eastern Empire by the Crusaders. The student is especially interested in the discussion of the attitude of Pope Innocent with respect to these events, because Innocent's relation to them has been the subject of no little difference of opinion among historians. The controversy over Innocent's part in the transactions which resulted in the capture of Constantinople is still going on, but much information bearing upon the subject has been brought out during the last fifteen or twenty years by continental writers, and the same is here ably summarized and made available for the reader who may desire to form his own judgments.

There seems to be no room for doubt that the attack by the Crusaders upon Zara, in aid of the Venetians, had been directly contrary to the Pope's instructions. His absolution for the crime of attacking a Christian city in violation of their vows had been granted them under the most solemn stipulations that no other such attack was to be made by them upon any Christian nation; and it was stated that this absolution would be rendered void if those receiving it were guilty of any further violations of this condition.

In the present days of rapid transit, not to speak of telegraphs and telephones, it is hard for us to realize the difficulties of communication which prevented the news of important events in Constantinople reaching Rome until months after their occurrence. The old Roman system of couriers had passed away, and a letter started from Constantinople for Rome had to be carried through by the same hand, and so had very many chances against its ever reaching its destination. An instance of this is related in the case of the letter addressed by the newly crowned Emperor Baldwin to the Pope.

The letter was conveyed by a messenger and accompanied by some very valuable presents, such as crosses, holy relics, chalices, priestly robes, etc., adorned with pearls and precious stones. The ship conveying the messenger and the presents was captured by the Genoese, who were the great rivals of the Venetians. After a long delay the messenger was released to go on with the letter which was at length received by the Pope, but the presents were quietly appropriated by the captors, and it was only by threatening the extreme pontifical displeasure in the form of the much-dreaded "Interdict" that the Genoese government were frightened into yielding to the Pope's summons and restoring the stolen property. There is no doubt that if better facilities for communication had existed Innocent would have prevented the Crusaders from carrying out their plan. He seems to have sincerely grieved over the failure of the great expedition as a Crusade, and to have been filled with indignation at the disgrace which had been brought upon the Christian name by the iniquities perpetrated by Christian armies in the sack and pillage of the capital of Christendom. The letter written by him under these circumstances concerning the conquest of Constantinople is referred to by our author as a work which "will ever remain as a monument of just scorn and the lofty statesmanship of the greatest man of his time." This remarkable letter is a masterpiece of pungent rebuke. We give here some extracts from it:

Since, in your obedience to the Crucified One, you took upon yourselves the vow to deliver the Holy Land from the power of the pagans, and since you were forbidden under pain of excommunication to attack any Christian land, or to do damage to it, unless its inhabitants opposed your passage or refused you what was necessary (and in such a case you were to undertake nothing against the will of the legate), and since you had neither right nor pretense of right over Greece, you have slighted your vow; you have not drawn your sword against Saracens, but against Christians; you have not conquered Jerusalem, but Constantinople; you have preferred earthly to heavenly riches. But that which weighs more heavily upon you than all this is, that you have spared nothing that is sacred, neither age nor sex; you have given yourselves up to prostitution, to adultery, and to debauchery in the face of all the world. You have glutted your guilty passions not only on married women or widows, but upon women and virgins dedicated to the Saviour; you have not been content with the imperial treasures and the goods of rich

and poor, but you have seized even the wealth of the Church and what belongs to it; you have pillaged the silver tables of the altars; you have broken into the sacristies, stolen the crosses, the images, the relics, in such a fashion that the Greek Church, although borne down by persecution, refuses obedience to the Apostolical See, because it sees in the Latins only treason and the works of darkness, and loaths them like dogs.—P. 391.

Although there are some passages in the correspondence of Innocent indicating that he regarded the misfortunes fallen upon the Eastern Empire as a retribution at the hand of Providence for its heresy and schism, yet the whole tenor of it shows that he felt very keenly the failure of his own great scheme, which was by means of the Fourth Crusade to strike a fatal blow at the Moslem power. So he writes to the Cardinal Peter, who had absolved the Crusaders from their vow:

When the Crusaders, after having consecrated themselves to the Saviour have abandoned their route, drawn away by earthly attractions, were you free to change so holy and so solemn a vow, and to permit them to take another destination? Think on it yourself. Disappointment, shame, and anxiety weaken us when we ask whether the Greek Church can enter into union with the Apostolic See when that Church has seen only the works of darkness among the Latins.—P. 394.

The truth was, that Innocent saw all his long, careful, and expensive preparations for striking the deadly blow at Islam brought to naught by the selfish schemes of Dandolo, Boniface, and Philip. All of these preparations and all of this expenditure had only resulted in a war upon Christians and in the capture of Constantinople instead of Jerusalem, and the golden opportunity of striking at Islam through Egypt had passed, perhaps, never to return. He saw, also, that with the combinations of intrigue against him he could not hope ever to be able to raise another such an expedition for a holy war. His personal disappointment was therefore very great. The only source of comfort left to him was in the fact that some kind of a union had been effected between the two Churches, although he felt the almost utter hopelessness of reconciling the outraged feelings of the Eastern Church to communion and fellowship with the perpetrators of the great wrong.

In the light of the facts here collated, one cannot agree with Ffoulkes in his accusation against Innocent as having delib-

erately planned, as a crowning act to complete his authority over the whole world, this conquest of Constantinople, "one of the foulest acts ever perpetrated under the garb of religion in Christian times: a sorry connection, unquestionably, for one of his high position and commanding abilities." * Innocent III. was unquestionably one of the most ambitious men ever invested with the pontifical power, and he was one of the most successful of pontiffs in making his power felt and acknowledged, but he was too much of a statesman ever to have sanctioned taking a step so disastrous to the cause which he and the whole of Christendom had so dearly at heart, the rescuing of the Holy Land from the hands of the Moslem. In fact he alone, of all the statesmen of his times, seems to have had a mind broad enough to grasp the situation, and to see the necessity of all Christendom uniting in one supreme effort to avert the threatened danger to Europe from the continued advance of Asiatic Islamism.

It is not within the scope of the book, nor have we space in this article, to follow up the subsequent history of the Latins in their short-lived possession of the eastern capital. As was to be expected, the leaders soon quarreled over the distribution of their ill-gotten gains, and it was not long before the arch-conspirators, Dandolo, Boniface, and Philip, were at work again each upon his own line and in his own individual interest. Within eighteen months after the capture of the city three of the principal actors, and a crowd of those only second to them in rank, were dead, and most of them, as it appears, by violent hands. The new Emperor Baldwin did not long enjoy his imperial dignity. The Bulgarians made a strong combination against him, and were joined by the Greeks—one of the rare instances of Bulgarian and Greek co-operation—and, drawing the emperor into an ambuscade, captured him after killing some three hundred of his knights, and carried him a prisoner to Tirnova, where, according to some, he is said to have died a miserable death. He was succeeded by his brother. The old Doge Dandolo died in 1205. Boniface was caught in the Rhodope Mountains by the Bulgarians and killed. The Crusaders found themselves unequal to the task of governing the country, and so it turned out that instead of the possession of the East-

*Ffoulkes, "Christendom's Divisions," ii, 226.

ern Empire enabling them to act more powerfully against the Saracens, as the apologists for the conquest had argued would be the case, they on the contrary found themselves obliged to appeal piteously to Europe for help in retaining that which they had forcibly seized.

Many of the Crusaders, also, from different places in the East—places which they had wrested from the Saracens and were holding by sheer force—came to Constantinople attracted by the stories of wealth and plunder which had reached them. General laxity of vigilance over those territories was the result. Important strategic points were left unguarded. The Moslem took advantage, and pushing up his line took possession of much Christian territory. After nearly sixty years of strife of factions, confusion, misgovernment, and at times almost anarchy, the Latin Empire of the East came to an inglorious end, and the Byzantine Empire was restored. The injury inflicted by this sixty years was irremediable. Constantinople was no longer the impregnable capital of the East. The Moslem cimeters were gleaming in the sunlight across the plains of Asia Minor, and slowly but surely the Asiatic hordes were pushing their way toward the gates of the doomed city.

The author, in commenting upon the injury thus inflicted upon the Eastern Empire in weakening its power of defense against the common foe of Christendom, makes some excellent points which cannot fail to interest the student of history. He alludes to the fact that the traditional feeling in the West against those of the East has affected more or less all the western historians who have written of this period. It is natural that we, who may be said to be the sons of the Crusaders, should take our ideas and our prejudices from them, and that we should be too ready to find evidence of the corruption and effeminacy of the great eastern capital, and the Asiatic influences which had deprived it of its manly vigor. He thinks that in this way we have failed to estimate at its true value that unceasing struggle carried on during at least a century and a half previous to 1204 by the Greek-speaking people of the Eastern Empire and by the Christians of Armenia and Georgia, fighting so long single-handed and alone what were really the battles of Europe. In the history of those times we have only remembered that the Eastern Church had refused to

accept the supremacy of the Pope; that Constantinople was captured by the Crusaders, and that her degenerate population were unable to prevent their city, in 1453, from falling into the hands of the Turks. These are the facts which we remember; but there are others which we forget. We forget that this gallant resistance of one hundred and fifty years before 1204 was the cause of the Turks being unable to obtain a footing in Europe for a like period after 1204. We forget, also, that notwithstanding the fatal blow received by the Fourth Crusade this Eastern Empire was still able to prolong the struggle for some time alone, and at the same time to pour forth a stream of learning and literature upon the western world. We forget, also, that the time during which she kept back the Turks was valuable time gained for Europe; time during which the Turkish power was weakened and their arrival in Europe delayed, while at the same time Europe was becoming better prepared to grapple with them.

That John Sobieski was able to drive back the Turks who were besieging Vienna in 1683 was really due to the fact that the Eastern Empire had sacrificed itself as the vanguard of Europe.

The results of the Fourth Crusade upon European civilization were altogether disastrous. The light of Greek civilization which Byzantium had kept burning for nearly nine centuries after Constantine had chosen it as his capital was suddenly extinguished. . . . If the dispersion of a few Greeks, members of a conquered and therefore despised race, but yet carrying their precious manuscripts and knowledge among hostile peoples, could produce so important results as followed, what effect might not reasonably have been hoped for if the great crime against which Innocent protested had not been committed? Western Europe saw the sparks of learning dispersed among its people. The light which had been continuously burning in a never-forgotten and, among the literary class, a scarcely changed language, had been put out. The crime of the Fourth Crusade handed over Constantinople and the Balkan peninsula to six centuries of barbarism, and rendered futile the attempts of Innocent and subsequent statesmen to recover Syria and Asia Minor to Christendom and civilization. If we would understand the full significance of the Latin conquest of Constantinople we must try to realize what might now be the civilization of western Europe if the Romania of six centuries ago had not been destroyed. One may picture not only the Black Sea, the Bosphorus, and the Marmora surrounded by progressive and civilized nations, but even the eastern and southern shores of the Mediterranean given back to good government and a religion which is not a barrier to civilization.—P. 412.

Art. V. — AUGUST GLADISCH'S PRE-SOCRATIC PHILOSOPHY.*

Any one who has from original sources made himself intimate with the pre-Socratic philosophy of the Hellenes, must have observed how little in harmony with historical truth are the statements concerning the same in our text-books on the history of philosophy. Especially is this the fact in reference to the most highly esteemed of them. To point this out, and thereby to break ground for the correction of false statements, is the object of the present discussion. Upon Hegel must rest no small share of the blame for this distortion; and yet to him must be conceded the high merit of having furnished the ground for an apprehension and a treatment of the history of philosophy more completely spiritual than that which up to that time was dominant. Still, from the fact that he transferred his own philosophical methods to the pre-Socratic doctrine, he has by so doing produced a sophistication of it. As Hegel in the development of his system expands from pure, abstract *being*, he conceived very correctly, undoubtedly, that the same had been grasped in perfect clearness and had been presented by Parmenides, the Eleatic. But he glaringly erred in reference to this, in that he caused his remarkable dialectics to stand for the logic of history, and supposed that, as in his hand-book abstract *being* passes over into *nothing*, and then the two unite to form *becoming*, so also after the abstract *being* of Parmenides, *becoming* may have been posited by Heraclitus as the *absolute*. In this he supports himself by an expression, supposed to be Heraclitean, which clearly expresses this unity of *being* and *nothing*: τὸ ὂν οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἔστι τοῦ μὴ ὄντος. But Hegel does not say whence he knows that Heraclitus has uttered this. According to Aristotle (Metaphysics, i, 4) it was an expression of the atomists, Leucippus and Democritus; but these were exactly the philosophers that denied *becoming* to that which is determined. These taught that *non-being* [das nichtseiende], the void, *is*, just as much as *being* [das seiende], the full — the atoms. Whereat they permitted the

* Translated from the "Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Paedagogik" for 1879, vol. 119, No. 99, pp. 721–733.

two to stand separated, the one beside the other, but did not allow them to be united in a third, *becoming*. Consequently *becoming*, which Hegel has elevated to a principle of the philosophy of Heraclitus, has actually no support in tradition, but floats purely in fancy. But it happens still worse for our philosopher in consequence of the transmission of his dialectic into history. He has omitted to anticipate the question and to procure certainty about it, whether the abstract *being* of Parmenides is in fact the earlier, and the *becoming* of Heraclitus the later.

This question is answered in the negative by the most trustworthy tradition; while Parmenides himself, as Bernays (Rhein. Museum, vii, p. 114, *ff.*) has pointed out, in various verses of his philosophical poems sharply criticises and censures the doctrine of his senior, Heraclitus. So much for Hegel's apprehension of the philosophy of Heraclitus.

Nevertheless Zeller, in his "Philosophy of the Greeks" (i, p. 585, *ff.*), continues not, in accordance with historical truth, to state the significance of πῦρ ἀείζωον (by which is meant the self-intelligible and not the flame), but to declare the metaphysical tenet of the flux of all things (thus he mentions the *becoming* of Hegel) as the principle of the philosophy of the Ephesians. So intimate is he with the soul-life of the philosopher, that he knows that the metaphysical tenet in the soul has been framed along with the fire through the immediate activity of the power of the imagination; and, in fact, the metaphysical tenet should not anticipate (p. 586, Rem. i) in the consciousness of Heraclitus the conception, every thing is fire, but has happened simultaneously with it. Consequently, it is especially worthy of notice that Zeller has plainly posited the metaphysical tenet invented by Hegel, and not the authentic πῦρ ἀείζωον (fr. 25 Mullach). Naturally, then, the proof presented by Bernays, and the more extended confirmation of it by A. Schuster, are combated by him (p. 670, *ff.*) with all his energy.

No less has Hegel given occasion, in the case of Anaxagoras, for the perversion of historical accuracy. That is to say, as he apprehends very incorrectly the doctrine of Anaxagoras concerning νόος, and ascribes to it the philosopheme of his own system, that thinking or implicit thought is the essence of

things, he permits this by means of his dialectic to pass over into subjective thinking, and the entire crowd of sophists arise and spread their corrupting doctrines throughout Greece and Hellas. According to tradition the sophistic has little connection with Anaxagoras, but under Gorgias, the father of sophistic, it takes root much after the manner of the μὴ ὄν of Parmenides in the Eleatic philosophy (Plato's Soph., 241ᵈ, and Arist. Meta., v, 2). Except that Protagoras has established his denial of knowledge upon the teaching of Heraclitus, Hegel does not trouble himself about this tradition. In agreement with the Hegelian dialectic, Zeller in this case also connects sophistic immediately with Anaxagoras; unconsciously he himself (on page 937) makes room for this as follows: "We are told by no sophist that he began designedly with the doctrine of Anaxagoras."

Most of the text-books on the history of philosophy follow the example of Zeller. Indeed, in the outline of Ueberweg it is no longer Socrates that has established a new epoch, but the sophists; the pre-Socratic philosophy has become the pre-sophistic, and Socrates stands in the rear of the sophists as second in the line of descent.

Indeed it may come difficult for philosophers like Hegel, who are the founders of a complete spiritual system, in their treatment of the history of philosophy, to maintain the requisite impartiality of statement, and to resist the temptation to drag their own philosopheme into history. In this manner it is explicable how already in ancient times Aristotle, one far greater than our great philosopher, has led the way in the perversion of the historical. By Aristotle (Metaphysics, i, 3), we have presented to us the first attempt to grasp the history of philosophy as an orderly development of cognition. In it, entirely in agreement with Hegel, he undertakes to point out his four metaphysical principles in the earlier philosophy. He permits the material principle to make its appearance in the following gradation:—

First, Thales posits *water* as the primitive material out of which all things are made; then, Anaximenes and Diogenes of Apollonia present a more refined conception, *air;* then Heraclitus, that most delicate, *fire;* thereupon Empedocles posits four elements wherein he adds *earth* to those mentioned;

finally, Anaxagoras, who completes the development, innumerable primitive materials.

It does not seem to be known by Aristotle that Thales in any way determined the ground of his conception. Aristotle merely surmised how possibly he might have reached the conception: *λαβὼν ἴσως τὴν ὑπόληψιν ἐκ τοῦ πάντων ὁρᾶν τὴν τροφὴν ὑγρὰν οὖσαν καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ θερμὸν ἐκ τούτου γιγνόμενον καὶ τούτῳ ζῶν· τὸ δ' ἐξ οὗ γίγνεται, τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ἀρχὴ πάντων, κ. τ. ε.* [probably having taken up the opinion from general observation that food is moist, and that heat is generated by this moisture, and that by it is life; therefore that from which there is *becoming*, is the beginning of all things, etc.]. What Aristotle here expresses as his own personal conjecture is then given by those who followed him as the reflection of Thales himself. The only certain statement that we are acquainted with from the philosophy of Thales is the expression, *ἀρχὴ πάντων ὕδωρ*, and that which Aristotle has joined to this expression: *διὸ καὶ τὴν γῆν ἐφ' ὕδατος ἀπεφήνατο εἶναι* [because it appeared that the land was on the water]. This brief statement, however, is amply sufficient to gain a correct understanding of his conception. When Thales made use of the expression *ἀρχή*, in his mind, unquestionably, this had not yet the significance that Aristotle assigned to it, but simply the customary significance, *beginning* [*anfang*]. The philosophical signification was first given to the word by Aristotle in his philosophical terminology. Consequently, then, Cicero ("De Nat. Deorum," i, 10, 25) very correctly has restored the conception of Thales: *aquam dixit esse initium rerum;* that which he added, however, *deum autem eam mentem, quæ ex aqua cuncta fingeret*, is the work of Cicero.

That the conception of Thales had this import, in the beginning every thing was under water, is confirmed through this expression with its accompanying specification. He has said *διό* [on this account] that the earth floats on the water; but the assumption that water is the primitive essence of all things could not be established from this condition. But it has been well verified, whatever he meant, that it would, when immersed, arise from the water. As evident corroboration of this, there comes at the same time from Aristotle the information that many thought the opinion that made Oceanus and Tethys the

primitive agents in creation was exactly the point of view of Thales, for that Oceanus was the primitive essence of all things no one would be willing to declare as the import of the Homeric verse,

'Ωκεανοῦ, ὅσπερ γένεσις πάντεσσι τέτυκται.

In short, Thales appears as the most learned of the seven wise men; therefore, he united with much of the practical wisdom of his contemporaries a worthy knowledge of astronomy and physics; but he does not belong in the development of Aristotle. Indeed, he would not belong there were it conclusively proved that he had used the expression ἀρχή with its Aristotelian import. What would become of the history of philosophy, if we were willing to grant a place in it to every one who has made such an expression without establishing it?

We turn now to Anaximenes, and to the one associated with him by Aristotle, Diogenes of Apollonia, and also to Heraclitus. Undoubtedly the first two have declared *air*, and Heraclitus has announced *fire*, as the primitive essence of all things. But it is not true that they meant by *air* and *fire* the so-called elements. It is not true that Heraclitus conceived *fire* in contrast with *air* a more delicate conception, and therefore set it forth as a principle. The truth is, rather, that they (searching not for the original material, but for God) conceived the primitive essence to be spiritual. Not yet were they able to grasp it as pure, incorporeal spirit, as did Anaxagoras; but simply to present it as the most delicate ethereal essence, which in its supreme purity has its throne in the lofty apartments of heaven, in the περιέχον. It guides the world, and through condensation produces all things, and by rarefaction it brings them again to naught. This is a notion common to the philosophers mentioned, not first of Diogenes of Apollonia and Heraclitus, but also already of Anaximenes, as the following fragment from his writings makes evident (Pseudo-Plutarch de Plac. Phil. i, 3, 6; Stobæus, Ecl. Phys. i, p. 296): οἷον ἡ ψυχὴ ἡ ἡμετέρα ἀὴρ οὖσα συγκρατεῖ ἡμᾶς, καὶ ὅλον τὸν κόσμον πνεῦμα καὶ ἀὴρ περιέχει [how the soul, as our own vital air, holds us together, and how breath and air surround the entire *cosmos*].

Since Anaximenes identified the primitive essence with the rational soul, he must of necessity already have con-

ceived it as endowed with reason. By his follower, Diogenes of Apollonia, this contrast with Anaxagoras becomes only more vividly conspicuous. Especially does it occur in the fragment assigned by Simplicius to Aristotle (Physics, fol. 33ª): *καί μοι δυκέει τὸ τὴν νόησιν ἔχον εἶναι ὁ ἀὴρ καλεόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ ὑπὸ τούτου πάντα κυβερνᾶσθαι καὶ πάντων κρατέειν· ἀπὸ γάρ μοι τούτου δοκέει νόος εἶναι καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶν ἀφῖχθαι καὶ πάντα διατιθέναι καὶ ἐν παντὶ ἐνεῖναι* [that which possesses intelligence I regard as that which men call *air*, and this is that by which every thing is directed, and that which controls all things. Therefore, in consequence of this, I regard mind (*νόος*) as existing, reaching out over the whole creation, positing every thing, permeating every thing]. Also the primitive essence of Heraclitus is nothing else but this *περιέχον φρενῆρες* [all-embracing master-mind], this throne of the ethereal Zeus (fr. 35), the *γνώμη ἥτε οἰακίζει πάντα διὰ πάντων* (fr. 55) [the purpose that manages every thing through all things]. That he designated his primitive essence so plainly intelligent as *πῦρ*, does not allow of explanation after the significance of the word in the Greek language, but indeed after that in the religion of Zoroaster, in which realm it originated. To make this clear we may interpolate here the following little episode, which, while not germane to our inquiry, has point, and also will aid in attaining a better understanding of the Heraclitean doctrine and its historical position.

The most important and the most accurate record upon the religion of Zoroaster is the *holy chariot*, drawn by eight white Nisæan horses, the chariot which the Persian kings Xerxes and Darius Codomannus brought with them, the former in his campaign against the Hellenes (Herod., vii, 40), the latter in his campaign against Alexander (Curtius, iii, 7). The commentary upon this Schliemann has lately unearthed on the site of ancient Troy, which was for a long time under Persian dominion. According to this, in the *holy chariot* was illustrated the doctrine that, in a manner similar to that in which the lower part of the wheel becomes the top, and the upper part the bottom, in the continual change of the advancing wheel, so are all things in the world in a perpetual movement, in a constant evolution. (Comp. Dion. Chrysost., 36, p. 92, *ff.*, ed. Reiske.) Consequently the playing of dice

furnishes a fitting illustration, and the narrative of Diogenes Laertius (ix, 3), therefore, seems to be worthy of attention; according to this Heraclitus played dice (*ἠστραγάλιζε*) with the boys in the temple of Artemis of Ephesus, and to those of the Ephesians standing about him he said: *τί, ὦ κάκιστοι, θαυμάζετε; ἢ οὐ κρεῖττον τοῦτο ποιεῖν ἢ μεθ' ὑμῶν πολιτεύεσθαι* [O, worst of men, why do you wonder? Is it not better to do this than to rule among you?] However, the Ephesians conceived flowing water as the best illustration of the perpetual movement of all things; as Plato says (Cratylus, 402[a]): *λέγει που Ἡράκλειτος, ὅτι πάντα χωρεῖ καὶ οὐδὲν μένει, καὶ ποταμοῦ ῥοῇ ἀπεικάζων τὰ ὄντα λέγει, ὡς δὶς εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν ποταμὸν οὐκ ἂν ἐμβαίης* [somewhere Heraclitus says that all things flow, and nothing remains. He says also that things that exist are likened to the current of a stream, which is of such character that you cannot bathe twice in the same stream].

Nevertheless, it is very manifest that the Zoroastrian theologians chose, through the chariot or the chariot-wheel, to present the sense-symbol of their religion, because they could present this before the eyes of believers every-where. Among the Trojan antiquities that Schliemann has brought to light, and has presented to us by means of photographic views, there is a large number of symbolic wheels wrought from *terra cotta*. Upon these the swiftness of the perpetual evolution of all things is indicated by the primitive diagram for antelopes, which in the Rig-Veda are the team for the chariot of the hurricane. This swiftness is also symbolized by stags (Nos. 34–36, 245). The eternal fire producing this evolution, which in the procession of Darius Codomannus was represented by the flaming altars drawn in front of the *holy chariot*, is indicated on the Trojan wheels partly in this manner (Nos. 272, 273, 275, 279, 289, 292), partly by two pieces of wood through the friction of which the priests produced the fire before which, as the eternal fire, they offered up their songs of praise (Nos. 237, 284, 291, 361); and partly it is represented by the lightning, or by the lightning accompanied with thunder (Nos. 107, 124, 125, 160, 356). The representation of the eternal fire, with or without the thunder, is especially worthy of attention, because it harmonizes in an evident manner with a fragment from Heraclitus which Hip-

polytus has brought forward (Refut. Hær., ix, 10), where he says: Heraclitus teaches that every thing in the world is produced by fire, λέγων οὕτως "τὰ δὲ πάντα οἰακίζει κεραυνός," τουτέστι κατευθύνει· κεραυνὸν τὸ πῦρ λέγων τὸ αἰώνιον [therefore declaring that the thunder-bolt (thunder and lightning) directs all things; that is, that it sets them right; declaring further that the thunder-bolt is that fire which is eternal]. Thus Heraclitus, in the designation of his primitive essence as similar to that of the Zoroastrian religion, appears to have been intimately acquainted with that system.

Although from what has been presented it is clear how little the statement of Aristotle happens to be in harmony with the actual teaching of the philosophers mentioned, yet the contradiction is displayed still more pointedly in the fact that Heraclitus, in his deeper and more acute thought, conceived the transmutation of the primitive essence into things, not after the manner of Anaximenes and Diogenes of Apollonia, as a mere condensation, but as a tearing apart of self from itself. Therefore he mentioned war as the father of all things, and taught πάντα κατ' ἔριν γίνεσθαι (fr. 37, 39). And such a primitive essence is set forth as the mere element *fire!*

With the two philosophers whom Aristotle permits to follow Heraclitus it fares no better. For it is not true that Empedocles regarded the four elements in their separation as the original beginning, as Aristotle sets forth; but, according to his plain statement, it is *Sphairos*, the supreme divinity, that which at the creation of the world was first separated into the four elements, which had been held in perfect neutrality in it (fr. 175, *f.*; also Panzerbieter's "Contributions to the Criticism and Explanation of Empedocles," p. 27; and Philop. in Aristot. de Gen. et Corr., fol. 5[b]). Nevertheless Aristotle—and in this Zeller follows him—ascribes to Empedocles the remarkable notion that this *divided divinity*—which, assuredly, already presupposes an earlier one, the *dividing divinity*—is the original beginning. However, Aristotle corrects his improper arrangement of Empedocles in his development by that which he ascribes to him as his merit, that he has not merely set forth, as did Anaxagoras, the second of his metaphysical principles, ὅθεν ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς κινήσεως and ἅμα τοῦ καλῶς τὴν αἰτίαν; but in his two forces, φιλία and νεῖκος, actuating all things, he has also

set forth an explanation of the many imperfections in the world. And further, Aristotle (Meta., ii, 4) calls the *Sphairos* of Empedocles the supreme divinity (*τὸν εὐδαιμονέστατον θεόν*). On the contrary, Zeller, not questioning the complete correctness of the development, continues to hold, in accordance with this, that with Empedocles the four elements in their separation were the primitive source of being. Therefore he rejects (707, 708, Rem. 1) not only the testimony of Aristotle concerning *Sphairos*, so clearly presented above, but also the explanation of Empedocles himself.* On this account people naturally obtain from Zeller's book a false picture of the philosophy of Empedocles; a picture at least implicitly distorted in the manner mentioned, and in which the most important and the most characteristic marks are passed over.

We have here the remarkable fact that a very spiritually-minded man, highly gifted as a philosopher, a poet, and a physician, should acknowledge himself in favor of magic. This fact concerning Zeller is taken notice of simply in reference to his deliverances upon the life of the philosopher. In his statement of his conception of the world, however, it is passed over in silence, although it stands connected with this world-theory by the most intimate principles of relation. Of the transmigration of souls, and of whatever is related to this doctrine, Zeller remarks (p. 734) very properly: "Empedocles has borrowed this doctrine from the Orphic-Pythagorean tradition." But this was, according to Herodotus (ii, 81), no other than the Egyptian tradition; therefore Empedocles had no necessity first of going to Egypt to obtain his Egyptian doctrine.

Although Aristotle presents to us, after Empedocles, Anaxagoras as the summit of his scale of development, yet the contradiction in the chronology thereby presented, as we observed above in reference to Hegel, produces in him no con-

* Zeller says: "Moreover, Empedocles has not designated his *Sphairos the* Divinity, but simply divinity. Aristotle first called this *ὁ θεός*. But it does not follow on account of this fact that Empedocles had so named it." But the four elements into which the primitive essence, the *Sphairos*, is divided, were expressly mentioned by Empedocles as *γνία θεοῖο* [members of God]. Whether, therefore, he made use of the word *θεοῖο* with the article or without it, in either case, since he is treating of the primitive essence, the expression is equally complete. So much must be granted, that the entire ancient world also had no other conception of *Sphairos* than that it was the supreme divinity of Empedocles.

fusion; the rather, he himself remarks, with entire lack of prejudice: Ἐμπεδοκλῆς δὲ τὰ τέτταρα . . . Ἀναξαγόρας δὲ ὁ Κλαζομένιος, τῇ μὲν ἡλικίᾳ πρότερος ὢν τούτου, τοῖς δ' ἔργοις ὕστερος, ἀπείρους εἶναί φησι τὰς ἀρχάς [now Empedocles says, that there are four first principles, but Anaxagoras of Clazomenae, although his senior in years yet junior in works, declares that the first principles are countless]. For that he did not mean by τοῖς ἔργοις the writing of Anaxagoras entitled περὶ φύσεως, the form of the expression shows (comp. Breier, Philos. of Anaxagoras, p. 85). Nevertheless we may say, as in reference to Empedocles so also in a much clearer manner in reference to Anaxagoras, that Aristotle makes good the point in which, in his development, he transgresses against history; since he, at once, upon the statement, sets him forth in his true significance and says of him that he, by his teaching in reference to νόος, appears, in comparison with his predecessors, as a sober man—as prudent in the midst of silly praters. Zeller, however, does not do the same; he holds Anaxagoras as well as Empedocles in the false position which he borrows from the Aristotelian scale of development. In accordance with this he desires to persuade us (p. 874, *ff.*) that the conception of numberless primitive elements forms the peculiar constitution of the doctrine of Anaxagoras, and furnishes the ground for his significance in the history of philosophy; since with him νόος has for its purpose simply the combination and the separation of the elements. Accordingly, we should have here before us a perplexing problem, if the elevating conception of the world, through which Anaxagoras and his pupil and protector, Pericles, are said to have conceived the nobility of mind and character ascribed to them (Plato, Phædrus, 270ᵃ, Plutarch, Pericles, c. 4, 5, among others by Schaubach, Anaxag. fragm., p. 17, *f.*), were no other than the assumption of numberless primitive elements.

Whoever understands the general point of view of the Clazomenæan in its true form, knows that it is that undoubtedly elevating doctrine of νόος which lends to him his significance, and that, too, very high, not simply in pre-Socratic philosophy, but in the philosophy of all times; for he first distinguished fully mind and matter, the one from the other, and through this deprived nature—not excepting sun and moon (Plato,

Apol., 26[d])—of divinity, and reduced it to a bundle of merely natural elements. The assumption of numberless primitive elements into which nature must of necessity divide after it is deprived of divinity, had, indeed, *νόος* for its presupposition, but not, as Zeller states it, for its sequent. That Anaxagoras called the infinitely pure spirit simply *νόος* is very intelligible from his position in the midst of Grecian idolatry. No one would doubt that Euripides simply rendered the meaning of his teacher, when in one of his dramas he interwove the following dialogue:

Θεὸν δὲ ποῖον εἰπέ μοι νοητέον;
*Τὸν πάνθ' ὁρῶντα καὐτὸν οὐχ ὁράμενον.**

[Tell me what sort of God is the *Intelligible?*
He is the observer of every thing, while He himself is not seen.]

In fact there is wanting to *νόος* no one of the characteristic distinctions that the theist of the Old Testament ascribes to God. It is in the first place a pure incorporeal spirit, without relation of essence with any thing whatsoever, absolutely self-sustained.† It is *αὐτοκράτωρ*, that is to say, self-controlled with unrestricted power in reference to free inclination.‡ If Zeller (p. 889, *f.* 892, rem.) does not wish to acknowledge full personality as essential to *νόος*, from the fact that Anaxagoras teaches "that it inheres as living soul in all animals, great and small,"§ he must also deny this personality to the God of the Old Testament. For the Psalmist (civ, 29 *f.*) speaks in reference to all

* Schneither de Euripide philosopho, p. 27.

† Fr. 6; Aristot. de Anima, i, 2; iii, 4; Cic. de Nat. Deor., i, 11. It cannot surprise us that Anaxagoras, in the fragment mentioned, says also of *νόος*: *ἐστι γὰρ λεπτότατόν τε πάντων χρημάτων καὶ καθαρώτατον*; for, indeed, the God of the Old Testament and of the New, whose incorporeity no one doubts, is designated as *breath*, *πνεῦμα*. Also, the Book of Wisdom, vii, 22, speaks of *σοφία*, the immaterial, as *πνεῦμα νοερόν, λεπτόν*, etc.

‡ Plato calls *νόος* in Cratylus, 413[c], *αὐτοκράτωρ;* Anaxagoras designates it in fr. 6, as *αὐτοκρατές*. Carus, *de Anaxagoreæ cosmo-theologiæ fontibus*, p. 9, explains this expression as follows: "*Solis suis viribus et solo suo utitur arbitrio, suamque propriam potestatem habet, nec ulla causa nisi sua voluntate ductus decernit. Verbum illi aetati maxime proprium, Euripideum, Thucydideum. Apud Euripidem mentis solius est epitheton: Androm.* 482. *In Thucydide, ubi schol. αὐτεξούσιον explicare solet, vel de libertate ipsi τύχῃ imperante* (iv, 68), *vel de λογισμῷ, s. ratione sponte agente* (iv, 107), *vel sensu politico occurrit, e. c. τὸ πᾶν αὐτοκράτορσι διαθεῖναι* (i, 126, coll. vi, 8; v, 45); *huc quoque referam αὐτοκίνητον illud apud Lactantium Inst.*, i, 5, 18."

§ Aristot., de Anima, i, 2, *ἐν ἅπασι γὰρ ὑπάρχειν αὐτόν* (*sc. τὸν νόον*) *τοῖς ζώοις καὶ μεγάλοις καὶ μικροῖς*, etc. Comp. Anaxag. fr. 6.

the living, of which there are "creeping things without number, and animals great and small," as directly from God: "Thou takest away their breath, and they die and return to dust. Thou givest forth thy breath and they are created, and thou renewest the face of the earth." And the Book of Job says (xxxiv, 14, *f.*): "Whenever he gives attention to himself alone, when he draws his spirit and his life-breath back to himself, then all flesh perish and man returns to the dust." (Comp. Cölln Bibl. Theol., § 23, vol. i, p. 132.) In a manner worthy of note Tertullian (*de Anima*, 12) says also of Anaxagoras, that he considered *νόος* a point of revolution, upon which the collected life of the universe hung (*universitatis oscillum ex illius axe suspendens*). Further, *νόος* is not simply the creator of the system of the world, which it has brought forth from chaos through the separation of the elements, acting after the manner of a master workman (and, indeed, the entire physics of Anaxagoras is, even according to his peculiar declaration in fr. 12, this simple doctrine of chaos), but it is in general only the power actuating every thing; there is no other power, no other god beside it, no fate (Plutarch, Pericles, c. 4; Alex. Aphrod. de Fato 2, p. 4, *f.*, ed. Orelli), no chance (Plato, Philebus, 28*e*; Aristot. Metaph., i, 3); Zeus only *is*, and all the popular gods are not (Lucian, Timon, c. 10). It [he] is not simply all-powerful, because it [he] makes every thing, but also all-wise, as Anaxagoras says: "It [he] possessed all knowledge of every thing." Already at the creation of the system of the world from chaos it [he] had foreknowledge of every thing, and distinguished the same. "The commixture, the separation, and the distinction, *νόος* knew each; what ought to be, what was, what now is, what shall be, *νόος* directs all." It is, according to Cedrenus (Chron., p. 130) and Harpocration, "the guard of the world" (*πάντων φρουρός*); according to Plato, "the king of heaven and earth" (Plato, Philebus, 28^{c}, *βασιλεὺς οὐρανοῦ καί γῆς*; comp. Breier, Philos. de Anaxag., p. 82). Accordingly, Anaxagoras must of necessity have believed that every thing in the world was intelligible and admirable, and that nothing was unintelligible and ill-formed (Aristot., Metaph., i, 3, *f.*; Themist., in Aristot., Phys., fol. 58^{b}; Plato, Philebus, 28^{e}). Therefore there can be given scarcely a plainer proof of the spirit of this philosopher than the information of the ancients

that he pronounced it the highest satisfaction of life "to contemplate the heavens and the collective arrangement of the world" (Aristot., Eth. Eudem., i, 5; comp. Philo quod mundus sit incorr., p. 488, ed. Francof). This presentation of the starry heavens—for it signifies self-consciousness—is so much the more worthy of attention because in this symbol also the theist of the Old Testament perceives the clearest confirmation (Psalm xix, 2, *f.*).

The conception of Zeller (p. 894, *f.*), that no place was found by Anaxagoras for faith in providence * is contradicted, not only by the preceding remarks, but especially most thoroughly by the expression given from fr. 6; and still further Plutarch mentions (de Fortuna, c. 3) in plain words, that according to Anaxagoras through *εὐβουλία* (prudence) and *πρόνοια* (foreknowledge) man had received talent to make himself lord of all created things, and to have them do service at his wish. To a less extent can the tradition from Pseudo-Plutarch be doubted, that according to the statement of Anaxagoras *νόος* was concerned especially about man, and consequently made him the principal point of view of creation (Gen. i, 26, *f.*; ix, 2, *f.*; Psalms viii, 5, *f.*; de Plac. Phil., i, 7, 7; comp. Eusebius, Praep. Evang., xiv, 16; Rosenmüller Schol. on Gen. i, 26–31). The notion of Zeller that Anaxagoras in his writings developed physics exclusively, and treated of *νόος* only so far as he had need of the same, is also contradicted on the authority of Plato. In his Phædrus (270ª) he says of Anaxagoras: *περὶ νοῦ τε καὶ ἀνοίας τὸν πολὺν λόγον ἐποιεῖτο* [concerning intelligence and nescience, he argued much].

Consequently Zeller states the doctrine of Anaxagoras in its most essential principle incorrectly throughout. How little his statement of the doctrine of Pythagoras and of the Pythag-

* If Zeller by this wishes especially to call attention to the criticism that Plato (Phædo, 97ᵇ) and Aristotle (Meta., i, 4) pass upon Anaxagoras, how that he made use of the *νόος* only where he knew not where to find the physical causes of an appearance, it may be said that the same had been sufficiently elucidated, both in ancient time and by modern teachers. This criticism, which seems perfectly intelligible from the Platonic and the Aristotelian point of view, ought not to be reiterated by a Christian teacher, who knows that the physical explanations of our science of nature neither exclude nor condition our faith in providence (Simplicius on Aristot. Phys., fol. 33ª; Hemsen, Anaxag. Claz, p. 89, *f.*; H. Ritter, Hist. Phil., i, p. 317, *f.*; Hist. Ion. Phil., p. 246, *f.*).

oreans is in harmony with historical accuracy I have proved in my dissertation, "The Egyptian Perversion of Pythagoras" (Philol. xxxix). While in actuality each perception of the world is organically developed in an admirable manner from a positive basis of knowledge, by Zeller they are all regarded as a collection of thoughts and conceptions that can be brought in connection with a stated principle in part only artificially, in part not at all. Most significantly is this presented by Heraclitus. Since he understood *πῦρ ἀείζωον* to be that primitive essence which happens to be in ceaseless change, *the perpetual flux of all things* results from this naturally. The same is likewise the *περιέχον φρενῆρες*, the ethereal Zeus, the *γνώμη ἥτε οἰακίζει πάντα διὰ πάντων*, also the *λόγος ξυνός* (fr. 58), further, likewise, the rational soul and *αὐγὴ ξηρὴ ψυχὴ σοφωτάτη καὶ ἀρίστη* (fr. 73, 74). Since it dwells in every essence as its living soul, nothing is more horrible than that which is deprived of soul, that is, in want of divinity (godless), the mere dead body (fr. 53); consequently nothing is more foolish than to pray to that which is without soul, to images destitute of every sign of the divine essence. Darkness, or Hades, is set in opposition to the ethereal Zeus, or the pure light; hence the detestation of every gloomy impulse like magic and mysticism (fr. 81 Clem. Alex., Cohort., ii, p. 18, *f.*, ed. Potter; fr. 70 by Schleiermacher); hence, also, the detestation of falsehood skulking in the darkness (fr. 8 Schl.), and his positive emphasis in the treatment of truth and frankness,* and especially that no

* In Stobæus Floril, iii, 84, we find the following Heraclitean fragment: *σωφρονεῖν ἀρετὴ μεγίστη, καὶ σοφίη ἀληθέα λέγειν καὶ ποιέειν κατὰ φύσιν ἐπαίοντας.* Schleiermacher (n. 44) first called this fragment in question; for he, as he himself declares, relies on mere feeling. Now Mullach has permitted it to vanish entirely from the collection of Heraclitean fragments with a remark (under fr. 56) upon its want of intelligible connection with fr. 55, although the latter fragment just as little bears implicitly the impress of authenticity. For, in the first place, *σωφροσύνη* is the first of the four cardinal virtues of the Heraclitean Stoics, and in the second place there is scarcely an expression more thoroughly Heraclitean than *ἀληθέα ποιέειν*, since according to Sextus Empiricus (adv. Math., viii, 8), Heraclitus regarded *τὸ ἀληθές* etymologically as *τὸ μὴ λῆθον*; moreover, extravagance is attributed to me by Zeller (p. 677), that I rendered conspicuous in Heraclitus the expression "that he desired a knowledge of the truth" as a Zoroastrian phrase. The above-quoted *ἀληθέα λέγειν καὶ ποιέειν* it was indeed fitting to point out as an authentic Zoroastrian expression, and I have abundant evidence in Herodot., i, 136; Plato, Alcib., i, 121, *f.*; Strabo, xv, 3, 18, p. 733, ed. Casaubon; Stobæus, Floril, vol. ii, p. 227, ed. Gaisf.

one can continue to hide his deceit from that Light which never sets.*

Furthermore, the traditions that point to a Zoroastrian burial along with the cremation of the dead body are explained by the significance that fire and the corpse had in his conception.† How also the conception, war is the father of all things, had its ground in the nature of his primitive essence, has been already pointed out above. Thus all this is unfolded very simply from the authentic fundamental point of view of Heraclitus, while it does not permit of positive deduction from the substituted metaphysical proposition of the flux of all things.

It can escape the notice of no one that in the explanations of Zeller there is manifestly an effort to hold Orientalism at a distance, or to explain it away. In this effort, at bottom, no doubt, lies the belief which seems to prevail quite generally that these philosophers, by proof of the Oriental content of their doctrines, suffer a loss of the authority that up to this time has been assigned to them. In fact exactly the opposite is true. While Pythagoras and his school, Heraclitus, the Eleatics, Empedocles, and Anaxagoras, up to this time are esteemed simply as the foremost thinkers among the Hellenes, they became through these proofs the representatives, at the same time, of that great historical civilization of nations, the religious world-theories of which, some more and some less

* The beautiful fragment *τὸ μὴ δῦνόν ποτε (φῶς) πῶς ἂν τις λάθοι* has been entirely distorted by Mullach under n. 48, in that he has changed *τις* to *τινα*, and consequently has translated it *quomodo quemquem fugiat ignis numquam occidens?* He, as certain as Schleiermacher (n. 40), has forgotten to notice the connection in which the fragment from Clemens Alexandrinus, Paedag. (ii, 10, p. 229, ed. Potter), is brought forward. Clemens says, in the words of Isaiah xxix, 15, *οὐαὶ οἱ ἐν κρυφῇ βουλὴν ποιοῦντες, καὶ ἐσται ἐν σκότει τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν καὶ ἐροῦσι· τίς ἑώρακεν ἡμᾶς*, adding, *λήσεται μὲν γὰρ ἴσως τὸ αἰσθητὸν φῶς τις· τὸ δὲ νοητὸν* (without doubt God is meant) *ἀδύνατόν ἐστιν· ἢ, ὡς φησιν Ἡράκλειτος, τὸ μὴ δῦνόν ποτε πῶς ἂν τις λάθοι; μηδαμῶς τοίνυν ἐπικαλυπτώμεθα τὸ σκότος.* Therefore the change of Mullach is unintelligible, especially since we do not generally cover ourselves before the sun as the sensuous light, to forget it, but in order not to be seen by it. In the fragment there is nothing to warrant the change, not even *λήσεται* in the words of Clemens, for the *future middle*, *λήσομαι*, with the accusative is used for the *future active*, *λήσω*.

† Zeller, p. 677, states the case as though I would give credence to the saying, Heraclitus was torn in pieces alive by dogs, while I am of the opinion that in this we have merely a perversion of the fact of a Zoroastrian burial, for I expressly remark: "Why should we be surprised if he ordered a Zoroastrian burial for himself, if he thought and taught the Zoroastrian doctrine?"

sensuous, they give back in the clearness of philosophy, as in beautiful pictures of light, and thus unlock the door for a correct and deeper understanding of history.* Especially conspicuous does this become in the explanation of Egyptian philosophy by the light of Empedocles.

[Note by the Editor, Alfred Fleckeisen. I regret that the author of this article was not privileged to see it in print. On the 16th of November of the present year (1879) he died peacefully at Berlin. The Miscellany of the "Norddeutschen Allg. Ztg." for November 23 contains an obituary from the pen of the counselor of legation, Dr. R. Hepke, from which, largely *verbatim*, we borrow the following notice:

August Gladisch was born August 28, 1804, at Altenhof, in the province of Posen. He studied in Berlin, for the most part under Carl Ritter and Hegel, who at that time stood at the summit of their scientific activity. He was appointed, at the beginning of his thirtieth year, teacher of German literature and the elements of philosophy at the Catholic gymnasium in Posen. His instruction incited activity of a high grade among his pupils. His courtesy and integrity of character gained for him the confidence of his pupils—the greater part of whom were Poles—to such an extent that in their especial perplexities they took refuge in him, although he understood not a word of Polish, as though he were a paternal friend. After about

* In reference to this, of course, the argument is not that the philosophers named have drawn, directly, from the Oriental fountain-head, nor even that in a single instance they recited in a mechanical way the tradition handed down from that source; many a tradition must, *per se*, of necessity at the beginning be transformed into the Hellenic view (for example, the Egyptians thought of the moon, not as a goddess, but as a god); but the essential harmony of their conceptions is very evident. In a very plain way this can be shown by comparison of Parmenides and the acosmic Brahmins. Parmenides distinguished two points of view for reflection—that of truth in accordance with the knowledge of reflecting reason, that of mere opinion in accordance with the observation of sense; he taught of the first that it was simply being, τὸ ὄν, while he explained visible multiplicity and change of being, the entire world as presented to our vision, as μὴ ὄν —an empty delusion of sense. In like manner the Brahmins distinguish the point of *cognitio* and that of *ignorantia*, and teach in reference to the first very strictly that it is the Brahma or God: "he is the entity, *sat* (the common τὸ ὄν), while forms, being mere delusion, are nonentity, *asat* (the common τὸ μὴ ὄν); there is not here any multiplicity." (Colebrooke, "On the Vedas" in the "Researches in Asia," vol. viii, p. 404; "On the Philosophy of the Hindus," in the "Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society," vol. ii, p. 26.)

ten years' activity he was forced by pressure from the archiepiscopal see of the government to resign his position under penalty of the withdrawal of his salary. He went to Halle, there passed over to the Evangelical Church, and earnestly engaged himself with his scientific works, until he was again called into active service as director of the newly established gymnasium at Krotoschin. This position he has occupied until a few years since, when the disease which has now proved fatal compelled him to resign.

His scientific works were comparative researches in the realm of religion and philosophy. In a series of monographs he sought to prove, among other things, that the religious world-theories of the five ancient civilized nations of the Orient—the Chinese, the Indians, the Persians, the Egyptians, and the Israelites—return in Hellenic civilization as elements of religious and philosophical consciousness. His writings relating to this subject (now collected and published by Heinrichs, Leipsic) are: "The Ancient Chinese and the Pythagoreans" (1841); "The Eleatics and the Indians" (1844); "Heraclitus and Zoroaster" (1859); "Empedocles and the Egyptians" (1858); "Anaxagoras and the Israelites" (1864); "The Hyperboreans and the Ancient Chinese" (1866); "Religion and Philosophy in their General Historical Development and their Relation to Each Other" (1852).]

Art. VI.—THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE BODY FOR MENTAL ACTION.

One of the most obvious facts of experience is, that the mental life is profoundly dependent upon the physical organism, and more especially upon the brain and nervous system. From this many have concluded, with somewhat hasty logic, that the body itself is the sole source and seat of the mental life. The logic is hasty, for the facts are ambiguous, and may be explained by either of two hypotheses:

1. We may suppose that the organism produces the mental facts. This would explain the observed dependence.

2. We may suppose that the mind is distinct from the

organism, but is conditioned by it. This also would explain the observed dependence.

A careful logic would recognize this ambiguity, and would then seek for some ground of decision between the rival theories.

The first hypothesis is that of materialism. In this view the mind is only a collective term for thoughts and feelings, and these in turn are produced by the organism. This view is perfectly clear until we try to understand it, and then we forthwith begin to grope. In explanation of the production of thought by matter various suggestions are made, but they all prove treacherous, and commit us either to nonsense or to absurdity. Thus it is said:

1. The brain secretes thought as the liver does bile. But the secretory organs either eliminate their products from the blood, or make them from material furnished by the blood; and hence, if we are to take the suggested analogy in earnest, it would follow that thoughts either pre-exist in the blood, or are made out of blood, and in either case that they are material, and might conceivably be collected in a test tube and looked at.

2. Thought has been called a mode of motion, and as motion is something immaterial, this view seems less gross than the preceding. But motion is nothing apart from something that moves, and the moving thing is the reality. Hence this view, when made complete, becomes this: The motion of M from A to B with velocity v is a thought. That it should produce a thought is intelligible; that it is a thought is absurd. As well might we call the following line ——— a flash of insight or a heavenly aspiration.

3. It only remains that we say that matter produces thought, without too curiously specifying the nature of this production. But our previous trouble continues so long as we appeal only to the forces which physical science attributes to matter. These forces are without exception moving forces, that is, their effect consists in modifying the movements and groupings of matter. And all production in the physical realm consists not in making something else, but in producing new movements and groupings of given matter. The change of grouping and the new movement are the effect. If now the production of thought is to be assimilated to physical production we should

have to say that a certain material grouping is a thought. As *n* atoms grouped and moving in a certain way do not produce, but are, a chemical molecule; so *m* atoms grouped and moving in a certain way do not produce, but are, a thought. As in the preceding cases such thoughts might conceivably be collected and looked at, and essentially the same absurdity reappears.

4. There is no getting on so long as we use only those conceptions of matter which suffice for physical science. The more clearly we grasp those conceptions the clearer becomes the impossibility of bringing mental facts into line with them. But who shall assure us that we have not thought too meanly of matter? that it has not "promises and potencies" in it which physics has overlooked? This suggestion is so necessary to any system of materialism that it has been universally adopted, and matter has been hypothetically endowed with mystic possibilities, "inner faces," "subjective aspects," etc. Why may not a series of such elements produce thought as a function, or resultant, of their interaction?

This view in no way meets the purpose of its invention. Assume *n* elements, *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*, etc., endowed with sundry mystic possibilities and entering into a highly complex interaction. As a consequence they may all enter into the same inner state *m*, or into a series of states *m*, *n*, *o*, *p*, *r*, etc., different for each. These inner states, owing to the mysterious double-facedness of the elements, may be considered as having a mental nature. The only possible outcome of the elements' interaction is a modification of their space relations and the production of these inner states. But each of these states is inseparable from its own subject. There is no way whereby *m*, *n*, *o*, *r*, may leave their respective subjects and meet in the void to form a compound mental state which I call mine. Such a procedure would be like that of a series of motions which should break loose from their subjects and compound themselves in the void to form a new motion which should be the motion of nothing. So long as these hypothetical mental states are inseparable from their subjects, they are useless for explaining my mental life.

With this bare suggestion of some of the difficulties of materialism we return to the statement that our mental dependence on physical conditions is an ambiguous fact, and is as com-

patible with the spiritualistic as with the materialistic hypothesis. But a great many considerations make the latter untenable and shut us up to the former. But that view, though affirming a mind distinct from the organism, by no means annuls the fact that our mental action is physically conditioned. It is this significance of the body for the mental life which we propose to consider. There is all the more reason to do this from the fact, that while materialism has falsely concluded from the dependence, to the non-existence, of the soul, spiritualism, on the other hand, has often tended to ignore the dependence. The body has been spoken of as a cage, a prison, a defilement; and thus a spurious spiritualism has arisen as one-sided as materialism itself. It is desirable, if possible, to clear up the matter so that the facts shall be neither ignored nor materialistically interpreted.

That all mental action is attended by physical wear any one can easily satisfy himself by experiment. In much of our mental work there is a deal of physical labor directly involved, as in reading or speaking. The organism must be adjusted to the demands made upon it; and these are often great. Again, in much of our mental activity there is a continuous demand made upon some of the organs of sense. There is nothing strange in the nervous waste arising from such labor; for the organism is distinctly active. But apart from these cases there is a waste attendant upon thinking in general without any reference to the senses whatever. The abstract reflections of the philosopher and the unpicturable thinking of the theologian involve nervous wear and waste, although the objects dealt with are entirely supersensible. In like manner the prayer of the saint and the longing of the mystic take place only at nervous expense. Doubt at this point concerns not the facts but their interpretation.

Many have claimed that in such cases our thoughts are but the transformation of the nervous energy consumed. This claim rests upon a total misunderstanding of the general doctrine of energy in physics. The common fancy is, that energy is an ethereal something gliding from one thing to another, and assuming various forms in the passage. This is sheer mythology. Energy must always be the energy of something, and cannot exist in the void without a subject. In the

physical theory, the elements are the subjects of the physical energies. But these are in such relations to one another that a given element, *A*, may arouse energy in another element, *B*, at the cost of its own. This is the transference of energy; and as in the case of the transference of motion, there is no proper transference but a propagation.

Again, in this propagation the new state produced may be qualitatively unlike the antecedent. The antecedent, electricity, may have for consequent heat, light, motor-power, etc. This qualitative change is the transformation of energy. It consists simply in the qualitative unlikeness of antecedent and consequent.

Finally, if the antecedents and consequents are measured by some dynamic standard, they are found to be dynamically equivalent in spite of their qualitative differences. This is the conservation of energy.

How far this is from the rhetorical whim of a protean energy which passes from thing to thing and from form to form is evident. Except in a figurative sense, there is no transference and no transformation. If then the brain should expend energy in arousing the mind to activity, there would be no passage of physical energy into mental energy, but an expenditure of the former in inciting the mind to develop the latter. And here again it is possible that no physical energy is expended in arousing the mind, but only in setting up the physical changes which are accompanied by thought. It may be that thinking costs the brain something; and it may be that each nervous antecedent is fully accounted for in its nervous consequent.

The share of the brain in thinking may be conceived as follows: The interaction between mind and brain is mutual. A given nervous state tends to produce a specific sensation; and conversely the thought of that sensation tends to reproduce the corresponding physical state. This is seen in its most striking form in the sensations which arise from expectation and belief. In such cases the nervous system is so strongly affected that the sensation is really produced. In the representation of form also something of the same kind is probable in the visual tract. Hallucinations resulting in the vision of unrealities reveal such a tendency. Language also, when present in thought,

produces a nascent affection of the vocal organs. Finally, thought is very often attended by emotion; and this at once finds an echo in the physical system. There is then a mutual interaction between soul and body. The physical state tends to produce its mental effect; and the mental state echoes itself in the physical system. The intimate union of soul and body explains their mutual sympathy. This sympathy becomes all the more intelligible if we suppose that the soul itself, in its subconscious activities, is the builder and administrator of the organism.

Such an order of interaction of soul and body being given, the significance of physical health for mental health becomes apparent. To begin with, the body is the instrument whereby the soul gets all its impressions of the outer world; and in order to have a rational mental life, these impressions must constitute an orderly series or system of series. If they are disorderly or incoherent from the beginning, the soul has no manageable material to work upon; and the rational nature fails to develop. The result is idiocy, varying in depth with the physical imperfection from which it springs.

Or we may suppose the disorder to begin after the rational life has been developed into coherent forms, and sensations have become the signs of certain objects. If now the disorder result in producing sensations without the presence of their appropriate objects, there will be a series of hallucinations. If these sensations be of a strange and distressing nature, the mind will give them various interpretations according to its own past experience. The known laws of association working upon the sense-data would not fail to present manifold uncanny or terrific objects. These objects, again, by the same laws and by the automatic connection of mental states with the motor system, would not fail to call forth corresponding action. The result would be delirium or insanity. In this case the mental action would be normal or rational under the assumed circumstances. The fault would be in the sense-data; and to correct them would discharge the delusion.

Again, we know that a long-continued mental strain often makes it impossible for us to banish our objects. They haunt us to weariness and because of weariness. Such a fact is explained by an overwrought state of the nerves, whereby they

fail to return to their equilibrium of indifference. If, now, parts of the nervous tract should become permanently excited in this way, but to a still greater degree, we should have a tendency of certain forms of experience to take and maintain possession of consciousness; and these, working together with the past experience of the individual, would produce "fixed ideas" of one kind or another.

A certain amount of fixity in the elements of experience is necessary to rationality. Without it there can be no discrimination, reflection, or judgment. When the rapidity of change is too great, the mind fails to identify or retain any thing. This is seen in the flight of ideas in delirium. Nothing is fixed or stable enough to allow the mind to grasp its objects in rational comprehension. If now the nervous system should acquire abnormal mobility of its parts, so that the physical changes which are attended by mental states should succeed one another with undue rapidity, something of the same kind must happen. Rational reflection would be impeded, if not impossible; and the tendency would be toward obliteration of rationality altogether.

Mental work is greatly aided by physical helps in many ways. Compare, for example, the labor of solving a geometrical problem or of multiplying a long list of figures in the mind, with that of doing the same work when the diagrams are drawn or the figures written down. The physical symbol helps the mind to keep the problem steadily before it, and leaves it free for purely rational effort. Doubtless it will seem to us that there is nothing strange in this fact; for we see the things directly. But we must point out that seeing is simply a form of mental action which arises from certain forms of nervous action. The object stands before the mind, not because it exists objectively, but because a certain kind of nervous action incites the mind to create in itself the vision of the object. Such facts then prove that there are nervous states which can greatly assist the mind in some of its operations. But many facts make it very probable that something of the same kind exists in all thinking because of the connection of thought with language and with physical images. If this be so, then any disturbance of the brain whereby it should affect the mind only in a coarse and gross manner, or whereby it should become less sensitive

to mental states, would impede rational activity as much as it would embarrass a mathematician to take his pencil and paper away from him. More than this, it would tend to repress rational activity; for so long as the mind is subject to such an order of interaction with the body, a disturbance in either member must reflect itself in the other. If, in addition, this state of the nerves should be the ground of various vague and disturbing states of consciousness which should harass the mind and distract attention, the higher forms of mental action must be profoundly disturbed. We have constant illustration of such disturbance in the inability to think, to fix the attention, and to store up facts for recollection which attends the weariness of every day and ends in unconsciousness every night.

The previous suggestions are intended to remove some of the mystery which hangs around this subject in popular thought, and to show how unnecessary it is to have recourse to materialistic theories. The general laws of mind, and of the interaction of body and mind, make it perfectly plain that while the soul is connected with the body the physical condition must have the profoundest significance for the mental life. We believe, also, that they explain in principle all the mental disturbances and aberrations which arise from organic conditions. We say "in principle," because there is no theory which enables us to explain each fact in detail. The most thorough-going materialism is as completely unable to explain the detailed facts of our mental dependence on physical conditions—for example, peculiar losses of memory—as any other theory. But the same inability to follow our principles into details meets us every-where, even in the laws of mechanics. We may be perfectly sure that the simple laws of force and motion determine every movement in the physical universe, and yet we cannot trace any of them except in the simplest instances.

But this dependence of mental functions upon physical conditions cannot fail to suggest the question, whether the mental life can go on apart from the body. The question divides into two: 1) Can the mental life go on apart from the present body? 2) Can the mental life go on apart from a body? We begin with the former.

Taken by themselves, the facts admit of a threefold interpre-

tation. We may regard the body, 1) as producing mental functions, 2) as necessary to mental functions, and 3) as interfering with and repressing mental functions which it does not produce, and to which it is not necessary. The first interpretation is excluded by the untenability of materialism. Between the other two, we must observe that the facts are mainly negative. They do not show us the body as necessary to the performance of mental functions, but as interfering with mental functions. In any case the existing connection between physical and mental states is purely a factual one. Neither is seen to imply the other; and, so far as we can see, they could exist equally well apart. The nervous action does not do the mental work. It does not feel, nor think, nor remember, but merely furnishes the stimulus thereto. One of the elegant conceptions of the physiological psychologists is, that the brain itself does the mind's remembering; as if by any possibility one thing could remember for another. Doubtless the physical stimulus is adapted to the circumstances of our present life; but it is entirely conceivable that the same result should be reached in many other ways, and that in some other life a finer and subtler stimulus may lead to a higher and richer unfolding. Why a given form of vibration should produce the sensation red is quite unknown; and why red should not be produced by any other form whatever is equally unknown. The series of sensations and feelings is a not closed one, and the external stimulus to their development may be any thing the Creator chooses to appoint. Our mental experiences are not taken ready-made from the body; the body is only the appointed means in the present life for evoking them.

Concerning the second question, we remark, that when once a mental life has begun, and a store of ideas has been accumulated, it seems quite possible that a self-inclosed thought-life might go on thereafter in entire independence of any organism. No necessity for an organism appears except for communication with the outer world. Without it, the soul would be restricted to itself, having no experience of the world beyond, and no power to act upon and in that world. Such a life would be very bare and limited, and to escape it some system of interaction with the outer [objective] world is needed whereby the soul may receive impulses from without, and may

produce effects beyond itself. Indeed, that is probably all that the present organism is—an organized system of interaction for the reception and transmission of impulses. In this sense there can be no full mental life without a body. But in another life this system may be altogether unlike the present, on the one hand furnishing the stimulus to a far higher mental unfolding, and on the other receiving mental commands with a perfect and complete obedience. The Christian thought of the resurrection and of the spiritual body seems to involve [hypothetically] something of this sort.

The abstract possibility of our existing apart from the present body admits of no dispute; but this is far enough from proving that we shall so exist. Yet the fact that the soul cannot be identified with the body shows that the destruction of the body contains no assignable ground for the destruction of the soul. The indestructibility of substance, also, upon which physical science is based, would suggest that every real thing must be assumed to continue in existence until its annihilation has been proved. If, then, this subject is to be argued upon the basis of our customary ideas, the burden of proof would lie altogether upon the believer in annihilation. For the soul is real, and must be assumed to exist until its destruction has been shown. Of course, such a showing is impossible, and hence the presumption must remain in favor of continued existence.

To this it is urged in objection, that such a claim would imply the continued existence of brute souls; and that this would be absurd. In fact, the absurdity lies altogether in the unfamiliarity of the notion. That many forms of animal life should exist at all is as great an absurdity as can well be conceived. That they should continue to exist would be no greater. The question, Of what use would they be hereafter? is offset by the equally unanswerable one, Of what use are they here? We need not reflect long to see that our artificial and anthropomorphic conceptions of the fit and unfit cannot well be applied to cosmic problems.

In fact, however, none of our customary ideas will help us in this matter. Metaphysics convinces us that the entire system of finite things has its ground of existence not in itself, but in one Infinite Being, who is the fundamental reality of all existence. No finite thing, then, has any inalienable right to

exist by virtue of its title of substance or on any other metaphysical ground whatever. Every finite thing, whether material or spiritual, begins to exist because the nature or plan of the Infinite calls for it. If that nature or plan should no longer demand its existence, then that thing would cease to be. We can only lay down, then, this formal principle: Those things that have perennial significance for the universe will abide; those which have only temporary significance will pass away. But this principle admits of no specific conclusions on our part. We cannot tell what the plan of the Infinite may include and what it may exclude. It already includes so much that we should have rejected that we can hardly escape the conviction that the data of the problem lie beyond our grasp. The only thing to which we can attribute absolute worth is moral goodness or the moral personality; but this is a consideration drawn from [our conceptions of] the moral nature, and not from metaphysical speculation. In short, if the moral nature demands continued existence, or if any word of revelation affirms it, there is no fact or argument against it. On the other hand, apart from the moral nature and revelation, pure speculation must occupy a somewhat agnostic attitude upon this question of immortality.

EDITORIAL MISCELLANY.

CURRENT TOPICS.

ABOUT REVIVALS.

It is becoming pretty generally recognized that in order to maintain the requisite spiritual interest in the Church, and to realize its best possibilities, there must be from time to time special efforts and incitements toward religious quickening. If the Church's highest aim is only the maintenance of itself in the fullness of its governmental powers, then perhaps only a steady course of administrative effectiveness is needed; but even for that end the zealous co-operation of its members is desirable, and therefore it is needful to seek the increase of their devotion to the Church. Accordingly, we see how effectually the Church of Rome touches every individual of its communion by the use of its so-called sacraments at every stage of his being, from his baptism in early infancy until he is passed

forward to the great future, with the anointing of the Church upon him as his passport into the Paradise of the faithful. This system, if accepted with the requisite credence, answers all possible requirements for the soul's future; and after a trustful compliance with the commands of the Church the individual needs nothing more.

And yet even the Church of Rome recognizes the great value of religious zeal and enthusiasm, and she has her well-ordered methods for its promotion. Earnest and inflammatory sermons are delivered to eager crowds at the great festivals, or on saints' days; pretended miracles are wrought in the sight of the people, as in the cases of the blood of St. Januarius at Naples, or the sacred waters of numerous miraculous fountains. In Protestant Churches and countries a similar need of spiritual quickening has been recognized; but in those in which the authority of the State has been dominant it has been found very difficult to provide for the necessity; and accordingly either the most lamentable decay of spirituality has occurred, as in the State Churches of the European continent, or else there has been a wide-spread dissent and separation of the more spiritual from the national Church, as in Great Britain. It has accordingly become the accepted conviction of nearly all our religious bodies, that for the maintenance of successful Church life and the power of religion among the people, there must be special efforts made specifically for that purpose.

It is to be noticed, that from the Roman Catholic "missioner" to the Protestant evangelist, the truths and doctrines chiefly relied upon to give pungency and force to their appeals are substantially the same. They remind the people that they are lost sinners, and as such they are exposed to perdition; that Christ died for them, and that they may be saved through him, and that their only way of escape is by taking hold upon him. It is agreed by common consent that Christ crucified is the burden of the Gospel to sinful men; but in respect to how that great theme shall be presented there is not so much unanimity; and yet, perhaps, the dissent is more in form than in substance. The Romanists use the outward sign of the cross—the crucifix—and pictures of the Man of sorrows, with his disfigured face, and of the "bleeding heart." Then they lead their devotees through their "stations," each a memorial of some event in the sad scenes of Christ's last sufferings. All this is entirely outward and realistic, addressed to the imagination, and ostensibly intended to bring the worshiper into communion with those sufferings. And some things not altogether unlike these may be detected in the imagery sometimes used by Protestant pietists and evangelists, especially in the language of subjective devotion, and more particularly in sacred poetry. The early Moravian hymns are conspicuous examples in point, in which are presented in painfully realistic forms Christ's "blood," and "nail-prints," and "wounds," and "bleeding side," with the manifest intent that these images shall be deeply wrought into the imagination. These things, if used only to a moderate extent, and very delicately, may, perhaps, be made to serve a good purpose, but their liability to abuse renders them on the whole of very doubtful utility.

And yet the fact that these things are laid hold of for a purpose by different classes of persons so widely separated, may suggest the thought that there must be something about them that commends them to the common religious consciousness. Since the religious element in man's nature responds to the thoughts and ideas thus presented, it ought to be possible to utilize them for religious persuasion and edification. They seem to prove that the motives and methods that distinguish modern revivals have their source in man's spiritual consciousness, and therefore the religion induced by their use is normal, and its development capable of being rendered wholesome.

The revival and the work of religious culture are complementary parts of the system of Christian edification—the former especially reaching out toward the unsaved, and the latter seeking to perfect them that are of the household of faith. But the work is substantially the same in both its parts, and therefore every Christian pastor should be a revivalist as well as a pastor. The church is militant, and should be equally prepared for defense and offense—for the preservation of those that are saved and the rescue of those still held in captivity by the enemy; and failing of this latter duty, being shut up in its own strong tower, the church itself will become demoralized, weak, and sickly, and ready to perish. Revivals, being the normal fruits of healthy and vigorous Christian life, are needful to the church's well-being, and essential to its tone and spirituality, and its growth and prosperity.

Revivals are of two kinds—ordinary and extraordinary—those within the church and prosecuted under its direction, and those beyond and outside of the organic churches and led on by so-called irregular agents. The former are the results of the ordinary ministries of particular churches, with their stated services of worship and teaching and Christian communion; and whenever these are used with zeal and fidelity, believers will be edified and sinners converted, and such churches will be favored with occasional seasons of special spiritual fruitfulness. A living church is perennially a revival church, and yet special seasons of revival are needful alike for bringing the unsaved to Christ and for maintaining the required religious tone of the members of the church, and of the associate body as a whole. It is the privilege of any church to be always in a state of revival, and where that is the case there will usually be occasional visitations of grace resulting in special displays of converting and sanctifying power. There are in the spiritual as in the natural world alternations of seasons, with the early and the latter rains, seed-times and harvest-times, times to labor and to wait, and times to enter upon the recompense.

Extraordinary revivals often seem to contradict all human calculations, in respect to both the times of their occurrence and the agencies by which they are brought about. Beyond almost any other events or happenings in the affairs of religion, these appear to be especially and eminently displays of God's sovereign pleasure, and of divine power operating quite independently of all ordinary methods. The Reformation, with which the name and the career of Luther are inseparably associated,

was of this kind, coming, as it did, unasked for, and not desired by those who represented the organic Church, and yet proceeding in its course in a way to indicate the presence of a power above that of man, or any human agency. It was manifestly of God, in respect to both its time and its processes. Those who like to trace the workings of occult causes in the affairs of society sometimes attempt to find in certain great historical movements in Europe the secret springs of that great event, but all these come entirely short of the results that were brought to pass.

The great revival of the eighteenth century in Great Britain and America, which has become historical, and is known as "the Methodist," was also an extraordinary manifestation of divine power, operating independently of organized church agencies and despite their opposition. The secular historians of that period unite in depicting the moral and spiritual desolation of the time of its advent, when the churches of the land, both the established and the dissenters, were alike sunk down into spiritual lethargy and worldliness; and out of that darkness none but God could command the light to appear. It was, as in another case, declared by the prophet, "not by might, nor by power, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord of hosts." In such cases God seems to delight to display his sovereignty, and so to demonstrate the feebleness of man's power and his own superiority over even his own ordained methods. Such cases of wide-spread spiritual revolutions are conspicuous by reason of their breadth and magnitude; and yet others of the same kind, but in smaller proportions, are doubtless constantly occurring, because the living Christ is with his Church "always." In the practical business of soul-saving, and the bringing in the kingdom of heaven, the work itself is of more account than any of its methods or conditions; and while the Church and its ordinances are, and must continue to be, the usual channel and instrument of saving grace among men, it is well to remember that the divine Spirit has not gone into commission to a this-world corporation.

A well known and able writer, in the "Presbyterian Review" (Dr. C. A. Briggs), discussing certain features of the subject in hand, presents some significant thoughts, both pertinent and truthful, which we venture to transcribe and heartily indorse—with only a slight modification:

> The course of religious history has shown more than once that, whenever the Church neglects to do the work of evangelization in a regular way, irregular and disorderly [that is, non-ecclesiastical] instruments are employed by the Holy Spirit, for the purpose, to humble the Church and expose its inconsistency. The Methodist movement [of the last century] was such an irregular movement. The New Light in America [disciples of Whitefield] shared in these irregularities. The Salvation Army and lay evangelists are such irregularities in our time. God has blessed them with marvelous success, notwithstanding their irregularities [perhaps because of them], because they have been doing the work which the Church neglected.

Our only modification to all this is, that we do not concede that only when the Church becomes flagrantly derelict will God make use of other and irregular agencies. The prophesying of Eldad and Medad was quite "irregular," and although the regular divine order was then in its

full activity their services were not condemned as either impertinent or uncalled for. It has always been the case that the Lord sends by whom he will; and probably such will still be the order of the divine administration.

The recent forward movements among us in revival work, in a quarter where such movements had formerly seemed to the last degree improbable, should be hailed as of good omen. It was perhaps too much to expect that the much despised name of "revival" should be accepted, and the more so as it had become an integral part of the vocabulary of the "sects;" and as mother Church (of Rome) had already rendered another word "canonical," it was quite natural to replace the malodorous term by one that had a more churchly odor; and so the revival meetings of "the Church" were styled "missions," and their evangelists "missioners." Nor will we be very greatly offended at what was written by an Episcopal clergyman, and printed in the "Independent," attempting to prove that the new "missions" are not at all the same with Methodist revivals; and in order to make that appear, these are utterly misrepresented and caricatured. Our charity inclines us to trust that this was the result of ignorance, though the evidence in that direction is not complete. We will not, however, complain of our churchly friends for their adoption and use, to a very limited extent, of methods that have been tried by others, less "regularly," perhaps, but to good purpose. Methodists have tested those methods and found them efficacious, but they have not patented them; and they do not complain that now they are adopted by some who have not before approved of them.

After all else, it is still a matter of the highest significance that the most effective agency for the promotion of revivals is the plain and earnest preaching of the great vital truths of Christianity. It was by the earnest proclamation of the doctrine of justification by faith *alone* that Luther and his coadjutors, under God, broke the death-spell that had so long rested on the Church of the Middle Ages. The same doctrine, with the additional item of the witness of the Spirit, contributed the talismanic power of the great Wesleyan revival. Jonathan Edwards was a most effective revivalist, not by virtue of his being a profound metaphysician, nor an earnest one-sided theologian, but because he told the people of their sins and of the fearful destiny of the unconverted. It is accordingly with great pleasure that we have noticed that those who have been among us, seeking to increase the religious convictions and lives of the people, have made very free use of the great central truths of the Gospel—sin, repentance, faith in Christ, and the renewing of the Holy Ghost. In these particulars, it may be that some others might learn a valuable lesson, and find an example deserving to be imitated. It may be about time to replace the ditties and doggerels by words of sound and substantial Christian truth, which may, indeed, be unpalatable to those whose spiritual tastes have become vitiated, but will prove, wherever accepted, powerful to save the soul.

SOME ASPECTS OF THE MISSIONARY CAUSE.

It is doubtless true that no other subject at this time excites so large a share of interest among evangelical Christians as the cause of missions to non-Christian peoples. It is also true that that interest is not always expressed in the form of approvals and words of cheer to those engaged in the promotion of that work, but often the case is quite the opposite. Nor is that fact either strange or any cause of discouragement, and were it even more earnest and pronounced than it is, it would still indicate a new interest that would, it might be hoped, eventuate in good. The missionary cause requires for its success that it shall be taken up and carried forward by the whole body of the members of the Church, and not wholly nor chiefly by those who hold certain official positions. Any awakening of a new interest, even if it expresses itself in criticisms, suggests the probability of an increased sense of duty and responsibility, which may lead to more earnest action.

The work of Christian missions has passed beyond the stage of mere experimenting, and its feasibility and effectiveness are demonstrated by its results ; and now the question returns to the Church, and to the every Christian, What are the duties that are devolved upon each one by the existing and well ascertained facts of this case ?

But all who understand the case very well know that what has thus far been accomplished has only served to open the way for further and greatly enlarged activities. In all evangelical Christendom the work of missions is still in its infancy. But it is cause for devout gratitude that it exists at all, and that because it is of God its growth and success are assured. And that it will, in the not remote future, attain to proportions very greatly in advance of any thing seen in the past, is not simply a dream of hope based on prophecies and aspirations, but the logical and assured outcome of the agencies already at work and of the progress already made.

The whole world's history, in all its departments, is made up of eras and epochs; for although the forces that fashion affairs may be always in action, matured results are by no means uniformly developed. There are times and tides in all the affairs of the world, and eminently so in those of the kingdom of God, and it is the part of wisdom to take advantage of these—to make hay when the sun shines, and to row when the tide favors. The latter half of the eighteenth century witnessed the great Methodist revival, which it is now conceded not only produced a wide-spread religious awakening, but also has permanently raised British Christianity to an unprecedented spiritual elevation. During the early years of the nineteenth century this new life began to manifest itself in increased thought and concern for the extension of Christ's kingdom throughout the world, and for the salvation of those who were without the preached Gospel; and each succeeding decade has intensified that interest, until now in these later years of the century the cause of missions has become

a broad and deep current of spiritual power. The whole Church has been brought face to face with this work; with its manifest claims upon the active sympathies of all who have any share of the spirit of Christ; so that not without the most flagrant unfaithfulness can the Christian world hesitate to engage in a work so obviously of God.

Men are accustomed to recognize those movements of society and of nations which, because of their magnitude, seem to be above and beyond human agencies, as especially providential; and to judge by their tendencies and results what may be the will of God in respect to things affected by them. It is a common remark that our times have been especially fruitful of changes; and it is safe to say, that those wrought in society and governments since the last decade of the fifteenth century have exceeded in their significance any that had occurred in the whole world previous to that date; and of these, in respect to manifested results, the present century has contributed more than all before, and by them the aspects and the conditions of the cause of missions have been largely modified, and its work rendered more practicable. A hundred years ago religious intolerance was the ruling policy among the nations of the whole earth. Each kingdom or country had its own religious system, and would grant very scant toleration to any other; and because each sovereign was accounted the guardian of the faith and worship of his subjects, all who might presume to hold, and still more to propagate, any other religion was accounted as offenders and treated accordingly. But all this is now past, for there is scarcely a nation under the sun into which the Gospel may not be brought without serious hinderance; or if some remote regions appear to be still shut up, it is quite certain that sooner than all the places that are now asking for the Gospel shall be occupied all others will have become accessible. It is not easy to fully appreciate the significance of these changes in respect to the work of universal evangelization. Christ's promised presence with his disciples, while they should go forth to "teach the heathen," is quite as clearly manifested in the secular affairs of the world as in the spiritual. The Head of the Church is also "the head of all principality and power;" and he is very evidently and effectively preparing the way for the preaching of the Gospel, by compelling even the wrath of man to praise him.

The divine authority which constituted Cyrus—the heathen—the anointed of the Lord for the benefit of God's people, and which raised up Constantine to bring the Roman world into subjection to Christ, is still active in the same kind of work. The promise given primarily to Solomon—which belongs pre-eminently to Christ, "great David's greater Son"—that all the kings of the earth shall bring presents, is being accomplished in our sight. So, too, all the vast appliances of modern civilization are working together to forward the will of God in the universal spread of the Gospel. Learning, the arts and sciences, travels and discoveries, commerce, diplomacy and war, even when most iniquitous, are all made to subserve the same great design. These things very clearly indicate that the great Leader of the Church in her work of conquest is pre-

paring the way that his people may go up and possess the whole world for Christ. This is, therefore, God's time for aggressive action by the Church, and happy will it be for her if she shall know her day of visitation.

Among the great facts of our times none is more remarkable than the unprecedented increase of wealth, especially in the two greatest Protestant nations of the world. This is also largely the property of Christian men, and as a whole it is subject to a considerable share of Christian influences. It is not necessary that a man shall be a model Christian before he can be used to forward God's purposes for the upbuilding of his kingdom, for then the work would fail for lack of laborers; nor is it necessary that the motives that actuate men in that service shall always be such as God can approve, for in all ages and dispensations he has been accustomed to employ the unrighteous in his service, and to overrule to his own glory and to the furtherance of his purposes not only the mixed and imperfect motives of good men, but also the designs and efforts of the selfish and ungodly. And in the use of such agencies the Divine Providence has been gathering the requisite stores for the prosecution of his work; and he has made those to whom he has intrusted property the custodians of his provisions, who should not forget that all they have belongs to the Lord.

The two apparently contradictory commands given by Christ, at different times and among different conditions—the one, that the disciples should, in going forth to proclaim the coming of the kingdom of heaven, "take nothing for their journey," and the other, that they should provide in advance the things needful for their mission, are still in force, and they are both as applicable as at first. The duty is, indeed, laid upon all to whom the Gospel is preached to provide for the temporal needs of God's ministers; but in the case of those to whom the Gospel is preached, but by whom it is not yet received, such provisions are of course not available. To meet this necessity, therefore, the Divine Providence has richly endowed his people and Churches with the wealth of this world; and now his command comes to them to bring of the abundance of the rich, and permitting even the children of poverty to share in the blessedness of giving, by accepting and glorifying the "two mites" of the poor widow. Among the requirements of our times for the promotion of Christ's cause among men, is a deeper and more constraining sense of the religious obligations that accompany the possession of property. Only by its devotion to that purpose can the great body of Christians do any thing directly for the Christianization of the heathen world; and yet in that great work, which fills the heart of the ascended and glorified Christ, all may and should rejoice to have a part.

THE MISSION OF METHODISM AND METHODIST MISSIONS.

These two phrases have a verbal and alliterative likeness, but they are wholly distinct in signification; and though in both couplets almost the same form of words is used, they are specifically dissimilar in sense. And yet the two things designated are much more nearly related than even their verbal similarity indicates. It will not be questioned by any who has any just appreciation of the subject, that Methodism began its course not as a purposeless impulse, but as an agency of Providence for the working out of a design, which was none the less real and also harmonious in its parts and purposes because it was but partially understood by even its chief agents, who evidently "builded better than they knew." Methodism, now recognized as one of the most remarkable facts in the progress of modern Christianity, began its career with its history enfolded in itself. It was a renewal in spirit of the apostolic commission to preach the Gospel to every creature, which came to its agents in the form of an authoritative impulse to labor for the promotion and diffusion of "scriptural holiness" to the largest practicable extent.

In itself, original and inorganic Methodism was simply the spiritual life in the regenerated soul manifesting itself in evangelistic activities, with its movements originating in its own appropriate agencies. In respect to its vitality it was of the Church—for in that is included all truly regenerate souls—and yet it could not be constrained within ecclesiastical limitations. The range of its commission reached out to all the race, and its methods were simply the results of spiritual impulses regulated by common sense, and not constrained in its activities by ecclesiastical "red tape." These, of course, would vary in their details according to outward conditions; and yet wherever the practical purposes are the same there will be a likeness of methods.

In this country organic Methodism came to occupy waste places, and so to develop itself with only the least outward constraint. It went forth in response to the calls made, in ignorance of their own souls' wants, of those who were pining and dying for lack of spiritual sustenance. Its organism increased with its spiritual development; and it grew into an ecclesiasticism because that is according to the natural tendencies of the religious life in individual souls; and thus it was that American Methodism, which at the beginning was scarcely at all organic and wholly non-ecclesiastical, grew into a complete and closely compacted system. It came into form, not as any man had designed it, but by a normal process of development, in which its providental designs became manifest, and at the same time its vast possibilities appeared. It was, first of all, a revival—a renewal into conscious spiritual life of individual souls—quickened and "strangely warmed" by the Holy Spirit; and as it thus began with the manifestation of the righteousness of faith, so its mission became also manifest—to promote "scriptural holiness" by the preaching of Christ crucified and the use of the appropriate means for religious

culture. This is the mission of Methodism; and out of this has been brought forth the missionary work of the Methodist Episcopal Church, which is, in fact and substance, older than its own organized missionary agencies. Its whole ecclesiastical machinery was at first essentially missionary in character, and its operations were largely those of a home missionary society, projected for universal aggression, and designed to find its material sustenance in the fields that might be occupied. Like the Seventy sent out by Christ to preach the coming of the kingdom of God to none but "the lost sheep of the house of Israel," and therefore to go without "purse or scrip," so these went forth without any provision for their support, and, like them, they "wanted nothing."

But the mission of Methodism is to all men, and so should its arrangements contemplate and provide for the widest possible extension of the agencies of the Gospel. For a time the earliest preachers of the Gospel confined their operations to the chosen people, and not until the Gospel had been preached in all their land was its wider extension called for. So when the Methodist itinerancy had occupied the settled parts of the country, its spirit and mission called it to go forth to parts where the Gospel had not been preached—to penetrate to the remotest outposts, and to follow the emigrants to the distant frontier, and to seek out the spiritually destitute every where. When, a little later, a migrating company went out to found a colony in Africa, that colony became a Methodist mission; and when the red men, beyond the Rocky Mountains, sent messengers to inquire after the white man's religion, it was accepted as a call to send them the Bible and the preacher. When immigrants from the nominally Christian and Protestant countries of Europe—Teutonic or Scandinavian—coming under the influence of the Spirit through the word preached by our ministers were converted, and afterward, revisiting their native lands, kindled among their kindred the fires that burned in their own hearts, and thence sent out the Macedonian cry, "Come over and help us," to comply with the invitation seemed to fall within the legitimate mission of Methodism. It may, however, be questionable whether the large gifts of money that have been made to the churches in these countries are in harmony with the Pauline methods of Christian propagandism. In such ways the divine hand has seemed to be enlarging the area in which the spirit of Methodism may operate to fulfill the mission given to it in the spirit in which it was begotten; and so has the mission of Methodism been forwarded by the establishment and maintenance of Methodist missions.

In another place we have referred to the wonderful changes that have, within the near past, taken place in the world's affairs, by which the opportunities for the preaching of the Gospel to every creature are greatly enlarged. These facts have a very manifest bearing on the question of the divine purposes, and also in respect to the duties of the Methodist Episcopal Church in relation to them. It was not by a merely happy coincidence, coming by chance, that the development of Methodism as a vast army of aggression, and the breaking down of the barriers by which

the nations had so long shut out the Gospel, should occur simultaneously; it is, on the contrary, very obvious that the divine providence, which always waits upon the outgoings of the Spirit, had in this case opened to the Church, in which the Spirit had awakened a holy zeal for the extension of Christ's kingdom and the salvation of souls, a way of access to the nations that sit in darkness and the shadow of death. And if God has so prepared the way, does he not also, by his promise, say to his people, as he on an important occasion said to Moses: "Speak to the children of Israel that they go forward?" It would seem to be very difficult to think of conditions that could more clearly indicate the will of God, or more forcibly suggest a present duty, than are seen in these arrangements, under the divine hand, of the affairs of the Church and the world respecting the work of Christian missions. The prophetic imagery of the seventy-second Psalm, which the Church with great unanimity interprets as applying to Christ and the progress of his kingdom, seems to be receiving its fulfillment in our day, in form as well as in substance. On the one hand the accomplishment of the promise of universal dominion appears to be at hand; and, as preparatory to this, we see on the other the kings of the earth bringing their gifts, and the rulers of the peoples worshiping before Him and proffering their gifts and services. These things are highly significant—telling us what our duty is, and giving assurance of the abundance of the recompense with which the Head of the Church will reward his faithful ones.

It is simply in working out its specific mission—to spread scriptural holiness through all lands—that the Methodist Episcopal Church has proceeded to its present stage in the founding of foreign missions. It could have done no less without coming short of its peculiar calling. Nor dare we claim that it has done all that should have been done; and yet it is not wise to fail to duly estimate what has been effected. To-day the sun in his circuit round the earth shines unceasingly on Methodist meeting-houses, where prayer and praise as daily offerings ascend to heaven. Broad and deep foundations for Christ's kingdom have been laid among those who have hitherto seemed to be farthest removed from the Gospel. In China, four central points have been entered and are occupied, with the institutions of Christianity largely operated by a native ministry, and thus the Church itself has become naturalized in the land. In Japan, where, contrary to the assumption of the prophet a great nation is seen actually changing its gods, our missionaries are earnestly co-operating in helping forward that marvelous transformation, and fashioning the new religious life of the people into the spirit and working methods of "Christianity in earnest." And now even Korea, the "Hermit Nation," opens its ports to our missionaries, apparently waiting to hear and receive the message of salvation. In India whole provinces, races, and castes have come under the influence of our missions, and Christian institutions have become naturalized among the millions of the land.

A fact of special interest in the affairs of these missions is their increased productiveness, within the recent past, over all former rates of progress.

The growth of the work, in manifest results, during the last ten years, has probably been quite equal to all that had before been gained, and the assured influences which cannot be reckoned up and written down have evidently been greatly multiplied, and are steadily maturing, and will soon be manifested in a still larger rate of increase. It is also significant that it is among heathen nations that the noblest victories have been won and the richest spoils gathered; and the promise of the outlook seems to be, that what has been achieved is but the beginnings of what will soon be witnessed—that these are only the first-fruits of an abundant harvest. The sight that is now presented to all who have eyes to see, of the onward march of the Gospel, each division moving under its own leader, and all led on by the common Captain of our salvation to possess the world for Christ, is indeed sublime and very full of promise. And in proportion to their denominational loyalty, all Methodists will rejoice that their own division of this grand army is rendering effective service.

Just now the whole world of evangelical Christendom, and our own Church especially, are waiting in earnest expectation—in faith and hope—not unmixed with solicitude, for the outcome of one of the grandest missionary enterprises of modern times—that which Bishop William Taylor is leading into the heart of the African continent. Whatever may be the results of that movement, its conception and its prosecution thus far have been not only sublimely heroic, but so conducted as to give increasing assurances of its ultimate success. Whether or not he who has undertaken that marvelous enterprise, and those who have become his co-workers, shall prove equal to the work, awaits the verdict of the future; but there is very little room for doubt that the theory upon which the enterprise is projected is the only one upon which missions to the "Dark Continent" can be successfully prosecuted. The theory on which the work proceeds is, that the Church at home must aid the outgoing missionaries to reach their fields of labor, and help in their sustentation while preparing for their work; but as was the New Testament rule at Corinth, so in all other cases, it is best for all parties that Christian missionaries and pastors shall find their temporal support among those for and among whom they labor.

But as was the case at first, so is it still—the chief field of our Church's aggressive activities is at home, and here have been won its largest fruits; and the resultant spiritual benefits of this work, in the increased robustness of its spirituality, is its richest recompense. It is only just to make due account of the work actually done, and the results achieved by the home missionary agencies of the Methodist Episcopal Church in its own field. During the life-time of the present generation, in addition to making good the depletion of its numbers by death, and the multiplication of its members fourfold, it has reconstructed or built anew its ten thousand houses of worship; established, at large expense, its hundreds of schools and colleges; and has begun to do something toward founding asylums and hospitals, and other purely charitable institutions. As a new body of Christians, without antecedents or inherited wealth or prestige, it had to begin

without material capital, and therefore all its possessions were to be created; and so whatever has been achieved has been its own work. And its accumulations have been made not by the aid of copious fountains and flowing rivers, but from the dews and the rain-falls of penny collections and small gifts; for it must be said—and the confession is made without any sense of self-depreciation—that, as in the Apostolic Church, so in Methodism, "God chose the poor as to the world to be rich in faith and heirs of the kingdom."

The financial record of the Methodist Missionary Society, though not as good as it might have been, is nevertheless an honorable one; and its recent advancements render its outlook altogether assuring. Its system of operations is at once simple and effective. Depending, as has always been the economy of the Church for the support of all its services, almost wholly upon the voluntary gifts of the people, it has found that resource at once moderately liberal and remarkably steady and reliable. So certain has its annual income become that it may be safely discounted from year to year. To do this has been the policy of its administration, and in nearly every case the Church has honored the drafts that have been made upon it. And what is still better, the increase from year to year has been uniform, and in a greater proportion than the numerical growth of Church members. Estimating by the past five years, during which time the annual income has been increased by about a quarter of a million of dollars, or nearly fifty per cent. over that of the like term next before it, and trusting, as we may, that a similar growth will continue—and it may be hoped that much more will be done—it is not difficult to see that the year which will reach the "million line" is not very far in advance. To hasten it somewhat by bringing the cause home to the convictions and the consciences of the people, not omitting also to appeal to their devout enthusiasm, is no doubt at once practicable and of wholesome tendency. But the "million line" is much less a goal than a mile-stone, which may mark the progress made, but not afford a resting-place; for still it must be remembered that "there is very much land to be possessed."

FOREIGN, RELIGIOUS AND LITERARY.

THE EDICT OF POTSDAM. — A great deal has been lately said by the French Huguenots, at the commemoration of the second centennial of the Edict of Nantes, concerning that great event. But the Germans have taken occasion to say at the same time not a little about its counterblast, the Edict of Potsdam.

Three weeks after the publication of the infamous revocation in Paris of an "irrevocable" edict, the great Elector of Prussia, Frederick William, issued his edict from Potsdam offering to all the French Protestants who proposed to emigrate to other lands a safe and free retreat to his prov-

inces. He also bids his agents in Hamburg and Frankfort-on-the-Main to assist all the fugitives coming by way of Holland and Switzerland, and offer them equal privileges with his own subjects as to churches, courts, and schools. The significance of this measure is evident when we consider the powerful position of Louis XIV. at that period, and his ability to aid the Romish propaganda of the last Stuart on the throne of England. As the Revocation of the Edict was the crowning work of the age of persecution from the Church, so was this decree from Potsdam the great measure that finally gave to the Protestant forces their superiority.

The Elector complimented the French monarch for his defense of his religion, and diplomatically remarked that his example would be a good one for him to follow as to his own. This neat piece of sarcasm broke the bands that had united the two rulers, when Frederick William became the soul of the league against Louis XIV., and at his death his mantle fell on the noble and valiant William of Orange.

A half a million of refugees left France—the very flower of the kingdom—and 20,000 of these went to the then Province of Prussia, and formed some fifty congregations in various places, by far the largest in Berlin itself. Nobody will deny that highly important influences resulted from this emigration, which was of very great advantage to Prussia in many respects. These French refugees became the virtual founders of German culture and intelligence, raising all its interests, such as skillful manufacture, general industry, gardening, and agriculture, to their highest development. But these exiles did the most for their adopted fatherland in teaching it stern discipline in matters of faith and loyalty to God and humanity. Through them the Protestant spirit was strengthened and the evangelical faith thoroughly grounded. For a time they maintained their individuality, while impressing their brand on the generation; but after a time all barriers fell, and natives and strangers coalesced. About the middle of the last century a still closer attachment led on to the new birth of Prussia and the abolition of all special privileges for their descendants. But there are still small French congregations both in Berlin and Hamburg that act as reminders of the great event.

The Anti-Semitic Conflict seems to have reached its culmination in Germany, and is now evidently waning. As we look back over the fierce struggles of the last four years, we are inclined to affirm that all the public and inflammatory meetings, all the violent collisions between Jews and Christians, have been of no avail for the purpose intended. At the present moment the Jews are really better off than they were at the opening of the conflict. One sign of dissolution among the antagonists of the Jews is found in the extinction of many of the violent sheets that were for a time issued against them, and the departure of their conductors. Most of these anti-Semitic leaders were men of no standing in the community, and were known as destructives, to whom any ruin offered the chance of some improvement. These men tried to use the influence gained in the turbid waters to raise them to political power. The one

man who, perhaps, with really good, patriotic, and Christian intent led in the movement, soon shrunk back from the elements that he had aroused, and turned toward the Christian social agitation.

But while this excitement is evidently a thing of the past in Germany, it appears to be for the nonce on the increase in Austria. most probably to go through the same course and have the same end. In Vienna a few antagonists of the Jews have been sent to the parliament, as have a few of the leaders against the Jews in Bohemia. The antipathy in Austria seems to have been greatest among the students, who have refused to the Jews admission to their fraternities. It was indeed so for awhile in Germany, but the antagonistic spirit in the universities of Germany is now dying out.

On the whole, therefore, the Jews are getting the better of their opponents, and are satisfied with the situation; for which reason their sheets are more moderate in their expressions as to the Germans. The result of the agitation was to cause a few faint-hearted Jews to go over to Christianity; but this move has been counteracted by the transition of about as many Christians, or so-called Christians, to Judaism. And the fact is apparent that the Jews are by no means humbled by their troubles, but are, on the contrary, more energetic in their self-assertion, and more compactly united among themselves than ever before.

They are now, therefore, having their turn in laying their claims to recognition and respect before the world. A learned rabbi, in a recent publication on "Woman among the Jewish People," declares that the world owes monogamy to the Jews; and further says, that the modern position of woman has been grounded by the Jewish woman, who has really emancipated the whole feminine world. "The Jewish woman is, without any romanticism, incomparably good and self-sacrificing; and any one of them who would, among other nations, pass as middling good, would be classed among the Jews as bad." All these facts will doubtless bring the Germans to the consciousness of the great fact of the existence of the Jewish question as a permanent one, and will teach them that it demands, and must have. a different treatment from that which has hitherto been accorded to it. The Christian Church must approach it in a Christian spirit, and must adopt methods very different from those of mere agitators.

Liberalism in Switzerland is giving rise to grave apprehensions. A few weeks ago, in Geneva, there was held a conference of pastors, numbering about two hundred. On that occasion Prof. Bouvier, of Geneva, delivered his much-discussed lecture on "Sin," in which he, with much talent and his peculiar eloquence, reproduced in a new form and defended the old Pelagian doctrine. But there was fortunately no one in the entire assembly who defended his brilliantly presented theories. On the contrary, Professors Godet of Neufchâtel, Bois of Montauban, and Pressensé of Paris came forward with thorough and exhaustively elaborated refutations.

Bouvier and two other professors at the National Theological School do obeisance to Liberalism, and much interest was for that reason elicited in the election of a successor to Louis Segond, the well-known Bible translator. And what many feared took place. Edward Montet, a young savant who rejects "all positive and supernatural revelation," was elected professor of Hebrew, and thus the theological faculty of Geneva has four Liberal professors out of five. The condition of the Free Church faculty of Lausanne is, however, more gratifying. There are fifty-four students in attendance, of whom thirty-four are from the Canton Vaud and the remainder belong to French Switzerland and France. There is also a faculty of the Free Church in Neufchâtel that began its winter semester with about thirty hearers. In these latter institutions, at least, sound gospel doctrine is taught.

Now the moral status of Switzerland seems not to gain by this inroad of so-called Liberal ideas, if figures tell the truth. According to statistics Switzerland, with a population of 2,900,000, consumes yearly not less than 27,000,000 quarts of alcoholic liquors, 100,000,000 quarts of beer, and 2,000,000 quarts of wine. In the last thirty years the consumption of foreign wines has largely increased, and from year to year all alcoholic liquors, as well as beer, are more and more consumed. But the worst feature is the fearful increase in the use of brandy, which in thirty years has increased from 7,500,000 to 27,000,000 quarts annually. The sad effects of this most immoderate use of spirituous liquors show themselves very clearly. In the three largest hospitals of the land the number of those who there die through strong drink wavers from fifteen to thirty-seven per cent. In six years, aside from suicides and murders, over fifteen hundred persons are reported as dying from the direct effect of alcohol. In 1883 forty per cent. of the men and twenty-three per cent. of the women in the prisons were recorded as hard drinkers by profession. In the draft for the army forty per cent. of the young men are rejected because of the effects of alcohol on their systems. With this fact staring them in the face we submit that the Swiss are a deal too liberal.

The Pontiff as Arbitrator in diplomatic disputes is rather a unique event, and nowhere more than in Italy has there been much surprise at the fact that he should sit in judgment between Germany and Spain on the subject of the Caroline Islands. The Italian press is greatly exercised at the bearing of this new move. And every one acknowledges that since the "captivity" began no honor has been accorded to the present Pope so marked as is this. And this honor is so much the greater that it comes from that arch-enemy of the Vatican, the German Emperor. The question is sarcastically asked, "Whence comes to him the knowledge and judgment of certain questions of law or justice that concern the relation of nation to nation?" Certain Italian journals prophesy again, sarcastically, that the rule of peace is approaching, in which the arbitrator of the Vatican will settle all international questions, and when standing armies and fleets and armature will be superfluous. Other sheets say that Spain and

Germany, in thus applying to the Pope, have no special desire to offer him an honor, but rather to be served by him. They would avoid war, and therefore apply to the Pope. But why to him rather than to a worldly prince? They would never have come to Cardinal Pecci had he not become Leo XIII. The Vatican is, therefore, undoubtedly in the right when it sees in this event a special honor to the Pope and his position.

This high distinction from abroad to the chair of St. Peter came at an opportune period for the Vatican, which of late has been overmuch burdened with cares, for it is just now much in need of increased income, and would draw the funds from every church and altar that may, perhaps, more liberally contribute because of the prouder position of the holy Father. The organ of the Vatican exclaims, rejoicingly: "The events of preceding centuries are now renewed, when the popes were made arbitrators in international feuds; these popes, so mild toward the weak, so energetic against the strong, and so yielding toward those who yield."

And it seems that to Bismarck belongs all the honor of the initiative in this matter, and he doubtless did it with a well-outlined *arrière pensée*. He knew well that he would not lose his case without in some way gaining an equivalent for it. But just what this is the Germans do not yet see, though the case seems to be settled rather to the disadvantage of Germany. The German ultramontane organ thinks that Bismarck demanded the decision of the Pope as the basis of a new article on international laws; while the "Diritto" of Italy declares, that if the question of the Carolines has a political side, then it follows that Germany has accorded to the Pope a political and worldly character, which may induce him to renew certain ambitions in the line of ruling the world. The opinion of an earlier Italian minister, Signor Bonghi, is, that the event proves that Leo XIII. has in the entire civilized world that reputation for impartiality and knowledge which was also found in Benedict XIV. These various *pros* and *cons* in the two nations here represented clearly show that the *quid-nuncs* are muddled, and that the Chancellor alone knows his own heart.

Bismarck and the Poles seem to be having quite a struggle, in which the Chancellor is inclined to banish a goodly number of these troublesome subjects. The trouble between the parties lies very deep, for it is a well-known fact that the famous *Kulturkampf* had its origin in the Prussian province of Posen, and mainly in the school question. The Germans want to introduce their own language into the schools and the courts, and this measure was bitterly contested by the famous Polish cardinal of that diocese, Ledochowski. The political mission of Germany seemed to be in danger, as the Poles are the irreconcilables every-where—even up to the parliament itself, where the Poles vote steadily against all government measures, with no apparent regard to the principles concerned. In order to cure this malady it was thought best to commence with the rising generation.

This has not always been done with tact and skill, and the result is greater irritation than before, so that the Teutonic and the Polish elements

are now in direct antagonism. The names of places were changed, and even of streets, into others of German origin—a measure which seems entirely too severe for the comparatively small number of the opposing forces. The result is, that the parents enforce the language on their children at home, and use it with intensity wherever they can. And then came the religious antagonism, which has now proceeded so far that Polish and Catholic are synonymous, as are German and Protestant; in this way the strife has become doubly embittered, being one both of religion and nationality. Now, for the Roman Catholic Poles the German language is not only a foreign one, but also is heretical, and the children are taught to believe that God will not hear the prayer of a Pole in the German tongue. It was quite natural that Polish priests should indorse this, to them, acceptable doctrine, and thus began the fierce struggle between Bismarck and the Polish Cardinal, which finally extended to the whole German land. It is questionable whether the results of the conflict compensate for its cost and labor.

The Baltic Provinces of Russia are in great consternation at what they consider an infringement on their treaty rights regarding language and religion, as well as general government. In Livonia and Courland the Russian police system has been introduced, as is feared with all its usual corruption and bribery, and especially with its language, by far the greater part of the inhabitants being Germans by origin and speech. But still greater is the alarm for their religion, which is also in danger. When the Germans settled in these provinces, at the request of the Russian government, it was with a distinct provision that they might retain their German tongue and their Lutheran religion. And this was reassured to them by a command of his majesty, Emperor Alexander II. in 1865 in the matter of marriages between Protestants and the orthodox Greeks.

But of late years great efforts have been made to entice the Germans over into the Russo-Greek Church by means of advantages offered to all those going over into the State Church. These enticements, in the line of lighter taxes and better school and church privileges, have been so effective that in one province some five thousand have left the Lutheran for the Greek Church. As a characteristic means of forwarding this propaganda, it is now announced that a Russian shrine which was nearly finished, in the form of a handsome cathedral, will not be completed because of the strong Protestant feeling in that district. This movement means the stoppage of all pilgrimages to that region, and the consequent decline in material prosperity; in short, the destruction of nearly all business interests in the place. In view of these encroachments on their rights, at a recent session of the local assembly of Livonia it was resolved to draw up a respectful petition to the emperor for the restoration and preservation of that liberty of conscience granted and guaranteed to their fathers. And also from Riga comes information of like excitement and movements. The peasantry there are quite alarmed at the situation, and present petitions, and beg a release from these encroachments on the liberty of conscience.

THE JEWS OF ROME are just now the objects of special interest because of a systematic effort of the city authorities to bring them out of their special quarters, so long their retreat, and cause them to commingle and live with the general community. Of all the cities of Europe, Rome was the first to offer a retreat to the Jews, where, from the period of Pompey down to the present day, they have found an asylum. For the last three hundred years they have resided in the particular quarter assigned to them, known as the Ghetto. Some time ago the authorities began to demolish certain sections of their retreat as a sanitary measure, because of the narrowness of the streets and the increase of filth and disease-breeding influences. In the immediate vicinity of the Tiber one entire street has disappeared, thus giving access to air and sunlight.

In a short time the Ghetto will be a thing of the past, and one of the most peculiar sights of Rome will be denied to the inquiring tourist, who will then be confined to a simple history of its past. The question has been raised, *apropos* of these changes, whether the Jews of to-day are to be regarded as the descendants of that colony which settled there under Pompey, and which Paul found there; and who saw the construction of the present arch of triumph raised by Titus in commemoration of the destruction of Jerusalem.

Most historians answer this question with a decided affirmative. The Jews of Rome have never mingled with its population, and have ever lived in the greatest isolation. And till this day they refuse to pass under the arch of Titus, which covers a noted thoroughfare, but studiedly make their way around it. Even in their most favored condition, during the period of the empire, the deep aversion against them, as well as their own law, made it impossible for them to contract marriage with the heathen of Rome. In the Middle Ages, and down to our own time, they have been held in the deepest abhorrence, and have frequently been treated with the greatest cruelty by the Christian population. Pius IX. was the first to open the gates of the Ghetto at night, and since that period their condition has been gradually improving, and with the disappearance of the Ghetto will go much of their sorrow.

THE WALDENSIAN SYNOD recently convened in Torre Pellice, the headquarters of that interesting people. More than one hundred members were present, besides the guests from various Protestant Churches from abroad who came to greet the highest body of this revered Church of Italy. After the opening exercises four new workers were ordained, and in the course of the proceedings a very interesting report of the status of the body was read. From this it appears that there are at present seventy-four active workers—twenty in the seventeen parishes of the valleys, three at the Theological School in Florence, six in the college proper, thirty-five in evangelizing work, two in Italy, and one in Switzerland, working in connection with the committee on evangelization, two in the Grisons under control of the board, and one in the Bassuto-land in southern Africa as missionary of the Paris society, together with the four recently

ordained. Only two emeritus or superannuated preachers are supported by the Church.

In their Latin school at Pomeret there are 22 students; in the college, 60; and in the girls' school, 38. To these are to be added in the valleys, 202 teachers, male and female; and 5,047 scholars in 196 elementary schools. There are 98 Sunday-school teachers, with 280 assistants of both sexes, and 3,371 scholars. The communicants number 13,153, and the Church assessment in the valleys amounted to 71,774 francs. In the thirty years of the existence of the Theological School there have been 120 graduates, of whom 50 are now in the service of the Church, and at the present time 13 students are attending the theological lectures.

The Lutheran Church in Russia seems to be quite a power, although it is oppressed in numberless ways by the State Church, which would gladly stamp it out. To aid in resisting these encroachments there was formed some twenty years ago a society for the support of Lutheran churches, whose first patron was Duke George of Mecklenburg. This fund has been generously aided, and has afforded great assistance to persecuted congregations. In some of the islands the numbers have been greatly reduced by the so-called conversions to the Russo-Greek Church. In Lithuania the Church has nearly disappeared under the combined opposition of the State Church, the Catholics, and the Jews. Some of the pastors who supply the outlying regions have the most exhausting labor; the one in Archangel takes with him prayer-books and catechisms in five different languages. In the Wolga district of 28 parishes, nine of these, with 84,000 souls, have no pastors. In Siberia there are but two Lutheran preachers, who virtually labor like galley slaves in order to do their work. And still, on the whole, their report is encouraging. There are in all Russia 457 dioceses, of which 214 receive aid from the source above mentioned. Pastors and teachers are thus sustained, and the Lutheran Church in the realm of the Czar thus holds its own against all the stamping-out process that is practiced against it.

Moabite is the name of a settlement on the river Spree, below Berlin, whose appellation has been a mystery to many, and which has been lately solved by an historical investigator in a curious manner, as follows: It turns out that the original settlers of this colony were French refugees who came to this point after being driven from their own country at the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. This spot became to them a Land of Moab, as to those children of Israel who once sought that land as a safe retreat. This name shows how deeply were the Huguenots impressed with the old Bible story that they should thus draw consolation from its annals, and adopt a name that reminded them of some of the troubles of God's people. The situation is by no means a desirable one, and some have considered the name to mean rather an accursed land. But the memories of the present year of commemoration of the Revocation of the Edict have brought out the origin of the name.

Christian Art has recently been enriched by some beautiful frescoes in the *aula* of the Princes Academy at Meissen, in Saxony, given to the institution by the king. Among these the most exquisite one is that of Luther and Melanchthon, which has lately been reproduced in an engraving. Luther and his friend are standing before their study table, on which is lying an open Bible, the right hand of Luther resting firmly on the book, and pointing to the device, "The Word shall stand." With the left hand he grasps a crucifix standing before him as if he would not let it go, while saying, "Let all else go, the kingdom of God must remain." The bearing of the man of God is free and bold. His mighty head, the most expressive of any produced by the modern school of art, is turned upward, while the portrait testifies of unbending courage and rock-like faith. In effective contrast to Luther are the wise and clear features of Melanchthon. Both figures are brought into clear relief.

The Luther Revival of the fourth centennial caused the good people of Berlin to declare that the capital of the German Empire should have a Luther monument to stand, as it were, under the protection of the first Protestant emperor of Germany. And they therefore bid all the artists of the Fatherland do their best and wisest for the production of a work worthy of the great reformer and the Protestant power of the period. Nearly fifty designs were handed in, and the number confused the jury, who know not how to decide. They give mild praise to all as testifying to the dignity of the man and the significance of the subject. But men ask one another in vain the question, "Which design has completely conquered you?" For the answer is: "*Not one.*" This is because the German people are looking for an ideal monument of Luther and the Reformation, which it is not easy for any artist to produce to perfect satisfaction. Above all, they are inclined to demand a man of God full of spirit and power rather than an excited orator.

The Scattered Jews have recently been brought together by a careful statistician of Marseilles, who thus enumerates them: The entire Jewish population of the earth amounts to 6,377,602. Of these, 5,407,602 are in Europe, 245,000 in Asia, 415,000 in Africa, 300,000 in America, 12,000 in Australia. In Germany there are 561,610; in England, 60,000; in Austro-Hungary, 1,643,708; in Belgium, 3,000; in Denmark, 3,946; in Spain, 1,900; in France, 70,000; in Greece, 2,652; in Switzerland, 7,373; in Holland, 81,693; in Italy, 36,289; in Luxemburg, 600; in Portugal, 200; in Roumania, 260,000; in Russia, 2,552,145; in Servia, 3,492; in Sweden and Norway, 3,000; in Turkey in Europe, 116,000. In Asia there are: in all Turkey, 150,000; in Persia, 15,000; in Asiatic Russia, 47,000; in Afghanistan, 14,000; in India and China, 19,000. In Africa: in Algiers, 35,000; Morocco, 100,000; Sahara, 8,000; Tunis, 55,000; Tripoli, 6,000; Abyssinia, 200,000; the Cape of Good Hope, 1,000; Egypt, 8,000. We spare our readers the subdivisions of this statistician's story. It certainly proves them to be pretty thoroughly "dispersed."

MISSIONARY INTELLIGENCE.

Development in Japan.—We lately wrote of the progress of the United Church of Christ in Japan. This Church, it will be remembered, was formed by a union of three missions: the American Presbyterian, the Scottish United Presbyterian, and the Reformed (Dutch). Each mission conducts its own work in its own way, drawing its support from its own Board; but missionaries, native ministers, and churches unite in presbytery, and the presbyteries in turn are united in a synod. This synod has just held its third meeting, under circumstances of a most favorable character. The meeting of the synod was held in Tokio, in a large hall (so sudden and startling are the changes in Japan) which was built for the purpose of opposing Christianity. Into this hall, in the capital of an empire which has been open to foreigners less than thirty years, was gathered more than a thousand persons at the opening session of a Christian organization. Many of them were probably not Christians, but they were all interested in this foreign religion, which, they are beginning to acknowledge, must ere long vanquish both Buddhism and Shintoism, and become the faith of the people. As spectators they preserved a quiet and respectful demeanor, having come, evidently, not to dispute or refute, but to listen and learn. There were none of the interruptions so common, two years ago, at the second meeting of the synod. This is an indication of change in public sentiment. The synod was in the hands of Japanese Christians. The missionaries were present and participated in the proceedings, but on the same footing as native ministers and elders. Last year a missionary, Dr. Verbeck, was moderator. This year he was succeeded by a native minister in that office, the Rev. Mr. Ogimi, a graduate of Rutgers College and of the New Brunswick Theological Seminary, in New Jersey. Mr. Ogimi presided with dignity and ability. The synod consisted of sixty-one ministers. It now represents 44 churches and 4,800 members. Two years ago there were 32 churches and 2,772 members. The largest church represented was the Kaigan Dori church of Yokohama, which has a membership of 287. This, we are told, was the first Christian Church organized in Japan, having been formed in March, 1872, with 12 members. At that time, however, it represented nearly all the active Christians in the empire. The synod received four new churches, and authorized the organization of a new presbytery in northern Japan, making four presbyteries in all. The synod listened to reports from the standing committee and to a narrative of religion from each of the presbyteries. Some of these reports and narratives were very interesting. One evening was set apart for the consideration of the best methods of promoting evangelistic work. On this question no one was heard with more attention than Rev. Mr. Oshikama, who is himself a successful evangelist. Three years ago, after having labored successfully in Nügata, he went to Sendai, on the eastern coast, and began to labor there without help and with little encouragement. Without even pecuniary assistance he prose-

cuted his work so successfully that four independent and self-supporting churches have been organized, with upward of 200 Christians. These churches were received by the presbytery, and constituted, together with the church at Hakodati, the presbytery of northern Japan. Other instances of successful native labor were given, notably the following:

About one year ago, Mr. Itagaki (the former President of the Liberal Party) invited the Rev. Dr. Verbeck and others to go to Tosa and teach the people Christianity. The invitation was accepted, and preaching established in the city of Kochi. The most influential and educated men in that region attended these meetings, and a large company of inquirers was formed at once. Buddhism had had but a small following and influence in that section, and the minds of the people were ready to receive the doctrines of the Gospel when once convinced of their importance and truth.

The growth of Christianity having attracted the attention of the Buddhists some priests were sent down from Koba and Osaka to counteract the influence. But they were met by the educated young men of the place, and their arguments so completely answered that no effort was needed on the part of the Christian preacher to overcome their teachings or power.

The United Church seems to have attained to a high degree of self-support. All of the churches pay at least their current expenses, and sixteen wholly support their pastors. For two years the contributions for church purposes aggregate $15,120, which is an average of about $2 50 per annum for each member, or about $12 as measured by American valuation. The missionaries have been very assiduous in educating the natives in the direction of self-dependence, and the native ministers and elders have caught the spirit, and are very earnest in endeavoring to bring the churches up to the standard.

The native Christians are also deeply concerned in the spread of the Gospel by native agency. One of the most important acts of the synod was the adoption, after a discussion occupying several hours of successive sessions, of a plan for a missionary board, to conduct evangelistic work in all parts of the empire, and also to take in charge the preparation of men for the ministry. It was decided that the Board should consist of ten native and ten foreign representatives, and the native churches are to contribute one fourth of the sum required for the purpose. The amount proposed to be expended is about $9,000; and this will necessitate a contribution of about fifty cents per annum from each church member.

But what say the missionaries to all this native activity? For it means that the missionaries must in the future play a subordinate part. They must become less and less influential as the native Church increases. They are already far outnumbered. They say, according to Dr. Geo. William Knox, of the Tokio Theological Seminary, that it is just what they desire and have been working for. "More than ever before," we are told, "do the missionaries see the end of their labors, namely, the establishment of an efficient, self-supporting, self-propagating, earnest, devoted Presbyterian Church in Japan." Their aim has been to profit by native knowledge and experience of native needs and conditions, and also gradually to transfer responsibility to native shoulders, turning foreign missions into

home missions. The means to this end are being rapidly provided. No fewer than 34 young men are being prepared for the ministry in the Tokio Theological School. Two other missions, the Reformed (German) and the Southern Presbyterian, and perhaps also the Cumberland Presbyterian, are to join the United Church, which, as Dr. Knox believes, will have at the close of the century a membership of 50,000. He also thinks there will be a Congregational body of equal size, and also large Methodist and Episcopal Churches. The American Board began its work in 1869, and has pushed its policy of self-support even more successfully than the missions of the United Church. Of its 33 churches, eight of which were organized in the past year, 25 are reported as self-supporting. It is growing very rapidly, no fewer than 1,046 persons having been received the past year on confession of faith, the gain being at the rate of 55 per cent. The total membership is 2,856. Seventeen ordained missionaries are connected with the mission, with 27 native pastors and preachers. A theological class in Tokio contains 13 students. The general survey of the American Board speaks of the present as being "pre-eminently the day of destiny for Japan," acknowledges the "rare fidelity and skill" with which native pastors and evangelists have wrought, and declares that the "quality of Christian life shows an advance as marked as the gain in numbers, and even more encouraging." It concludes with the general observation, the truth of which no one will deny, that the "ease with which thousands can be gathered in mass meetings for the discussion of Christian themes, and the readiness with which theaters in all the principal cities are let for this purpose, and the wide demand for the Scriptures, are among the signs of the time that show the progress which Japan is making and emphasize the need of pressing forward our Christian work as rapidly as may be." The Japanese churches sent a letter of greeting to the American Board on the occasion of its seventy-fifth anniversary, in which they acknowledge with gratitude the blessings which have come to them through the services and sacrifices of the missionaries. They also say that this is the "day of grace for our nation," an opportunity "to be met once in a thousand years, and not to be expected again."

The mission of our own Church, begun in 1872, has shared in the general prosperity which Christian missions have had in Japan. At the date of our last annual report we had 1,152 members and probationers in connection with our mission, which is well manned and well planned. The past year must have brought hundreds of converts, for reports of revivals have come from the missionaries, and we may expect a much larger increase than in the previous year, when the number of conversions was returned at 244. The mission is so laid out as to embrace Kiustiu, the southern island, part of Yezo, the northern island, and a large part of Hondo, or central Japan. It has eight districts, and at the beginning of last year there were ten ordained native preachers, of whom eight were elders, and also twelve unordained preachers. It may be hoped that this action of the several Presbyterian bodies, in uniting their churches so as

to form a single ecclesiastical organization, will be imitated by the several Methodist missions, so that there will be a united Methodism throughout the empire.

Dr. Knox, from whose suggestive article in the January "Presbyterian Review" we have already quoted at considerable length, expects a Church of not fewer than 50,000 members for the United (Presbyterian) missions in 1900, "a Congregational Church of at least equal size, and also large Methodist and Episcopal Churches." At the end of 1884, the date of our latest returns (our annual report for 1885 has not at this writing, January 12, appeared), our mission had 1,152 members and the American Board 1,877. The Protestant Episcopal Church entered Japan in 1859. Its first baptisms were in 1866, having no more until 1872. At the close of the missionary year, June 30, 1885, the mission reported a total of 152 communicants, of whom 131 were native. The baptisms for the year numbered 81, exclusive of foreigners, 55 being adults and 26 children. The confirmations were in all 50. The mission has not grown rapidly, nor has that of the Church Missionary Society, though it has much larger results to show than the American Episcopal mission.

The readiness, and even eagerness, with which the Japanese welcome foreign ideas and customs and a foreign religion might seem to indicate fickleness of character. If they held with greater tenacity to their own institutions, like the Chinese, we might expect them, when they had accepted Christianity, to show a very strong attachment to it. But if they so quickly give up their own religions and their own civilization to accept a foreign civilization and a foreign religion, will they not in turn reject Christianity for some other faith which happens to catch their fancy? Such questions naturally suggest themselves; but we are assured by such competent observers as Dr. Knox that the Japanese are not a fickle people. Their enormous strides from a state of oriental and insular exclusiveness toward a wise, broad, and generous policy may be accounted for by a quality of character which Matthew Arnold describes by the word "lucidity." It is that faculty which is swift to detect ideas and institutions which have outlived their usefulness, and to put them aside. When Japan was opened to the commerce of the world, much against her own will, a stream of light came with the American and European ships, and she saw that she was far behind in the march of nations, and must discard much of the old if she would receive the new. But Japan is not a mere imitator:

> Japan borrows, but does not surrender its independence. It stamps on its new possessions a character peculiarly its own, and often only diligent research reveals the foreign origin. Buddhism won final victory by accepting the native Shinto, and potent as is the influence of Chinese thought, it has found no servile imitator. The samurai, the knights, are the true exponents of Japanese character. To these men patriotism is the chief virtue; passionate love of country, complete devotion to their feudal lord, sums up their ethics. There is now no anti-foreign party in Japan, but still has Japan no thought of accepting a foreign yoke. She learns that she may rule. The foreigner is the employee, the counselor; he may teach, but must not command; and he has greatest influence and truest power who accepts this

fact. Japan will use the foreigner for a time, but will dispense with his services at her earliest convenience."

We have quoted from Dr. Knox at length because we believe his sentences give the key to the Japanese character, which cannot be too carefully studied by those who would find the quickest and best method of firmly establishing Christianity in Japan.

BURMAH AND THE BAPTISTS. — The opening of Burmah proper to commerce and missions, by the overthrow of King Thebaw's government and its annexation to the British empire, is one of the great events of the past year. The proclamation of annexation was published on the first day of the present year, and so cruel and despotic had been the rule of the king that no word of protest was uttered, either in Burmah or elsewhere, against the act of the British government. Fortunately the conquest cost but little comparatively, either in lives or money, and there is no organized force except of *Dacoits*, or robbers, to oppose British rule.

The Governor-General of India, under whose control the conquered State has been placed for the present, has the power to establish a stable government over the new Burmese subjects, and protect all who have occasion to visit or settle among them. To the Baptists it gives the opportunity, long coveted, to extend their missionary operations into northern Burmah; and other societies may also freely enter the new territory. Burmah, as is well known, is the oldest field of the American Baptist Missionary Union, and perhaps the most successful one. Since the days of Adoniram Judson, the founder of the Union's mission on Burmese soil, there has been a wonderful development of Christianity around the stations which he planted. Leaving out the stations of North Siam and Bhamo, the latter being in upper Burmah, the Baptists have twelve stations in the Burmese field, all in the narrow strip of land known as British Burmah. And connected with those stations are more than 500 out-stations, with 479 churches, 25,425 members, and 395 schools. The total of missionaries, including women and physicians, is only a hundred. Judson's policy, not to ask the natives for money for fear they might think he had come for their possessions and not their souls, has long been abandoned, and in no mission has the problem of self-dependence and self-support been more successfully worked out than in Burmah. Of the 479 churches, 308 are self-supporting, and there is a total of 514 native preachers, of whom 124 are ordained. There are besides no fewer than 707 active native workers in connection with the mission. The contributions for church, school, and general benevolent purposes aggregate nearly $37,200. The population of Burmah is not, as is generally known, a homogeneous population, and the mission is under the disadvantage of being compelled to carry on its work among several different tribes—the Burmans, who claim a celestial origin and are the rulers of the country; the Karens, who dislike the Burmans; the Shans, who resemble the Siamese, the Ka Chins, and others. The Burman, however, is the language spoken by the body of the people, and in this most of the literature issued by the mission has

been published. A mission was opened in Bhamo, upper Burmah, on the Chinese border, a few years ago, and in 1884, three Chinese Shans, the first of their race to accept Christianity, so far as known, were baptized; converts were also made among the Ka-Chins; but the mission has been greatly interrupted by political disturbances, and last year was broken up. The annexation of Thebaw's kingdom removes the chief obstacles which kept Baptist missionaries out of upper Burmah, and now the desire is to enter the large and rich territory in force.

The only hinderance is, of course, want of money. We trust the Baptist churches will furnish the necessary funds, and missionaries, both foreign and Burman, be sent into this new missionary field. The time is not far distant when the whole of south-eastern Asia, from the Chinese border to the Straits of Malacca, will have become Christianized. The Presbyterians are meeting with wonderful success in Siam, and the Baptists have a strong hold on Burmah.

Co-operation in Missions.—We have shown, in the article on "Development in Japan" in this issue, how a United Church of Christ in Japan has been organized by three Presbyterian bodies conducting missions in that empire, and how that native Church has grown in numbers, in self-dependence, and in aggressiveness. A similar movement was attempted in India some years ago, but without success so far. It is now about twenty-three years since an elder of the Church of Scotland advanced the idea that all the Presbyterian missions in India ought to unite to form a single Presbyterian Church for India. The missionaries had been thinking on the same subject, and eighteen months after the elder gave utterance to his views the Presbyterian Synod of Northern India, connected with the American Presbyterian Church, appointed a committee to correspond with the other Presbyterian missions in India. The correspondence proceeded slowly, but it led to a favorable expression from most of the missionaries, and to the holding of a conference in Allahabad in 1874. It had been decided that for the present no attempt would be made to form an organic union of the different missions, as it was supposed that the home Churches would not approve such a plan. Nothing more could be done than to constitute a voluntary alliance for fellowship and co-operation along practicable lines. The Presbyterian Alliance was, therefore, organized at Allahabad, and three meetings of the confederated council have since been held—in 1877, 1880, and 1883. These triennial conferences have, to some extent, been stimulating and healthful, but they were costly, and it was felt that so great an outlay in time and labor and expense ought to bring greater results than the unofficial character of the Alliance permitted; and the thirteen different missions represented resolved to petition the home Churches for authority to make the Alliance a court of appeal and supervision in matters relating exclusively to the native Church. The request was, however, granted by but few of the home Churches. The missionaries were disappointed, and, concluding that they had asked for too little, they resolved to ask for authority to

unite all the missions in one strong, homogeneous, self-governing "General Assembly of India." The Alliance is now waiting for the action on this proposition. The United, Free, Original Secession, and Established Churches of Scotland, the England Presbyterian, the Southern Presbyterian of this country, and the Reformed Dutch have signified their willingness that such an organic union should be formed in India, and it is believed that the rest of the Presbyterian Churches represented in India will give the required permission. The missions are ready, says Dr. Chamberlain, of the Reformed mission, and are "scanning the ground and planning for onward united action—evangelistic, educational, ecclesiastical—just so soon as the Church Assemblies at home shall grant permission to their missions in India to lock arms and form united presbyteries and synods—ready then with joy to merge the provisional Presbyterian Alliance of India into the Union Presbyterian General Assembly, that shall grow, as God shall lead it, into a strong, self-supporting, self-governing, self-propagating national Church of Christ in India."

Dr. Chamberlain proposes four synods—Bombay, Bengal, Madras, and North India—these uniting in a General Assembly of India. The Bombay synod would contain four presbyteries and two missions, representing six churches; that of Bengal would have two presbyteries and two missions, representing four churches; that of Madras three presbyteries, besides the churches in Ceylon, representing four churches; that of North India seven presbyteries, representing four churches. Dr. Chamberlain told the American branch of the Committee on Missionary Co-operation, appointed by the Belfast Council of the Alliance of Reformed Churches, at a hearing recently given in this city, that if such a union were formed the home Churches must loosen their hold on matters ecclesiastical in India, and simply control matters financial, through the missionaries as their agents. This committee has been busily at work gathering information for its report to the next council, which is to meet in London in 1888. It has communicated with missionary secretaries and missionaries, asking their views on a number of points like the following:

1. The urgent need of friendly co-operation by the Foreign Missionary Boards of all the Churches represented in the Alliance, in the location and conduct of missions in separate or contiguous fields, in order to avoid conflict, to save expense, to promote Christian and missionary unity, and to employ all the means and workers on each field to the best advantage.

2. The importance of having but one united ecclesiastical organization in each mission field of the family of Reformed Churches holding the Presbyterian system, and the best way of accomplishing this result.

3. The most effective means for promoting the self-support, self-extension, and self-government of native mission Churches.

4. The nature, extent, and working of the relation between the native Churches and the Churches at home. Should it be organic and permanent, or voluntary and temporary, existing only so long as may be required by the infancy and growth of Churches in the unevangelized nations, and until they can stand alone and take care of themselves?

5. The relation between the missionaries and the native Churches and ecclesiastical bodies. Should the missionaries be members of the local Church bodies, such as presbyteries, classes, and synods, on an equality with the native pas-

tors? Or should they retain their membership in the ecclesiastical bodies in the home Churches which sent them forth? Are the missionaries to be regarded and commissioned as apostolic evangelists, whose office is to occupy the opening fields, preach the word, evangelize the people, plant and train Christian churches, educate the young, prepare a native ministry, and do other foundation work which belongs chiefly to the formative stages of the Christian Church in Pagan, semi-Christian, and Moslem lands? It is evident that the decision of this question will practically decide that of the relation of missionaries to the native Churches, and the future growth and success of evangelistic work among the nations.

The chief difficulty, in the view of some of the missionaries, in forming a united Church in India is the lack of union among the Churches at home.

THE CONVERSION OF SAMOA.—The report of the annexation of Samoa by Germany, which has been denied by the government at Berlin, makes the story of the conversion and consequent civilization of that central Polynesian group. Samoa is under the control of a native king, and Germany's recent action seems to have been inspired with the desire to overthrow the reigning king, and install a rival claimant who is presumably more favorable to German interests. The Samoans are a vigorous, intellectual race, numbering now about thirty-five thousand, a gain of about eleven hundred in upward of forty years. They were originally a savage people, whom navigators were glad to avoid. They were not, however, a cannibal race, and very seldom did they indulge in human flesh. The missionaries of the London Society took up their residence in Samoa (1830) at an auspicious moment. The people had risen against a tyrant, and killed him, and were in a state of mind favorable to the purposes of the missionaries, who were accompanied by eight South Sea teachers. The new religion was welcomed, but it did not win its way without many a desperate conflict. The Samoan religion was a peculiar religion. Every one had to worship at least five gods, and there were no fewer than one hundred and twenty gods acknowledged by the islanders. The five gods claiming reverence from every person were the god individual, the family god, the village god, the district god, and the war god. The gods were generally incarnate in beast, or fish, or fowl; and the individual whose particular god was in fish, for example, could not eat fish. To break with his religion a Samoan had only to eat his god. In ten years heathenism was substantially overthrown, and Christianity had become the religion of the people. The London and Wesleyan Missionary Societies and the Roman Catholics are laboring in Samoa. Dr. George Turner says, that twenty-seven thousand of the Samoans are under the care of the London Society, under whose auspices he labored in Samoa for many years. He contributes to the January "Chronicle" of that society an extremely interesting article on the work of the missionaries, and on the character of the people and their language. He says of the language that it is "copious, expressive, euphonic," amply sufficient for the translation of the Scriptures. They have an extraordinary mythology, and rich traditional histories. They speak of the great god Tanga-

loa, the "unconditioned," who created all things. He resided in the eighth heaven, from which he rolled down a stone which became the island of Samoa. He then sent a messenger with earth and a creeping plant. The plant withered, and became a substance from which worms sprang, and from worms man was developed. Thus they had evolution; but sometimes this evolution took a backward turn, and men became cray-fish, and pigs sprang from the dissevered heads of human victims. Says Dr. Turner:

> You turn to Bible stories and speak about Jacob's ladder, and they tell you of a tree which reached to heaven, up and down which their ancestors used to go on their visits to the heavens, and which measured sixty miles when it fell. After a sermon at Eromanga, on the prophet Jonah, the missionary was told that was *their* man. He fell into the sea, was swallowed by a whale, but his ear ornaments pricked the inside of the fish so terribly to his discomfort that he was ejected, and walked up from the beach, pale and emaciated with fear and hunger. A Samoan Jonah deliberately went into "a great fish" for the purpose of killing it, which he did, and was praised as the deliverer from a great ocean enemy. You tell them of Samson and the Anakim, and they relate the doings of the giant Tafai, who could pick up and hurl a cocoanut-tree as if he were throwing a thin spear, and who left his foot-prints on the rocks, as if they had been soft sand. You speak moreover of Christ walking on the water, and they tell you of the god Raso, who walked a thousand miles on the ocean from Samoa westward, and scattered about a quantity of earth which became the island of Rotumah, one of the late annexations to British rule in the Pacific. You tell them of the heaven of heavens as a world of peace, and that at once suggests to a Samoan his own traditions, which say that the eighth heaven was one of peace, no clubs or spears to be seen about the houses, and war never permitted to enter. A volume or two might be filled with these traditionary stories, many of which are fragments of an old and long-lost theology, and throw not a little light on the grand unity of the human race.

THE MAGAZINES AND REVIEWS.

The leading article in the "British Quarterly Review" for October considers the subject of union among Scottish Presbyterians. The three branches of the Presbyterian Church in Scotland do not seem to be separated by any sufficient barrier to warrant the distinct existence of the three denominations. Yet the writer sees that there are differences. The Established Church is more tolerant toward heresy, and approaches, in the order of its worship, the Anglican Church, and scarcely a remnant of the old Scotch Calvinism is to be heard from the lips of its younger clergy, while it is peculiarly vague on the subject of eschatology. The Free Church is characterized by a different spirit. It has great respect for traditions. Its theology is rigidly based on the Westminster standards. It has not altogether abandoned the harsher features of Calvinism, but this is much more true in the Highlands than in the Lowlands. The younger ministers of the Free Church are among the most highly educated of their order in Scotland. In the United Presbyterian Church a different type of preaching and thought prevails. This Church aims

at large popular effect. Its preaching is better fitted to produce an impression upon the great mass of hearers. Their ministers usually preach extemporaneously. It is less fettered by tradition than either the Established or the Free Church, and is not dominated in its annual meetings by relics of musty antiquity. The general tendency of the article is to show that there is nothing which ought to separate these several bodies.

There is a very thoughtful article in this number on the "Ethics of Pain" by Henry Hayman, D.D., in which the writer holds that man's capacity for pain exceeds his capacity for pleasure, and that as regards both intensity and duration man's capacity for pain has been increased by civilization. Pain is thought to have a disciplinal effect as stimulating reflection and sustaining virtue by suitable penalties. The unequal distribution of pain centers on a few the burden of suffering due to many, the few becoming, in effect, vicarious sufferers. It is this last hint which makes the author declare that the whole problem of pain and suffering becomes plainer on Christian grounds than it can ever be without them. Even from the stand-point of Natural Theology, pain cements brotherhood, provokes to love and to good works, exalts the sufferer to a place of honor, becomes a test of humility and patience, and turns to a pleasure what seemed a cross. Hence pain becomes an argument in favor of that moral system of the world's government into which it thus exactly fits, and of that Christian ideal into whose very focus its lines converge.

There is a powerful article by R. H. Patterson on "Pessimism and its Religions," too long to be analyzed here, but is to be strongly commended to all thoughtful readers. The final sentence deserves to be quoted: "If there were more Christianity in men's hearts at the present day, we should not hear cries of pessimism, or the despairing lamentations as of men walking in darkness."

We were affected by a peculiar sensation in taking up the "Indian Evangelical Review," a quarterly journal of missionary thought and effort, edited by the Rev. K. S. MacDonald, M.A., and published in Calcutta, India. That such a magazine should be possible in India will be a surprise to many. The article of the highest interest is that by the editor on the "Secret of Buddha's Success as a Propagandist." Besides the ordinary methods, such as preaching and conversation, he made use of certain extraordinary methods, as expedients and mysteries which were substantially miracles and illustrations. A curious story is told that Buddha convinced the five ascetics in Benares when they threw doubt on the truthfulness of his statement that he had obtained enlightenment by projecting his tongue so far from his mouth that it reached both his ears and covered his whole face, and then withdrawing it, said: "Can a man guilty of lying perform such an act as this?" Buddha is also said to have convinced many by his power of suspending himself in the air, causing sparks of fire to issue from his body, rendering himself invisible, and many other such matters. The article is one of very great interest.

The "Unitarian Review" for October has a notable article by the Rev. Sam. J. Barrows on John Bellamy's Bible. This Bible was published in London in 1818, dedicated to the Prince Regent, afterward George IV. The occasion of its publication was, that when Bishop Watson of Llandaff had replied to "The Age of Reason," it appeared to Bellamy that the Bishop had given up the authority of the Scriptures. As no one else undertook the defense of the Bible, he attempted the task himself. The work was published in parts, and there are four of these parts in the Harvard library, bringing the translation down to the First Book of Samuel; though four other parts are said to be in existence. This translation of Bellamy has one unfailing resource; when it finds a difficulty it changes the translation. This spiral method of translation is never abandoned. He does not tunnel the mountain of difficulty; he goes around it, and when he has passed it he firmly believes it does not exist. To show the style of his translation, compare his version of Gen. ii, 21, with the common version: "Now Jehovah God caused an inactive state to fall upon the man and he slept: then he brought one to his side; whose flesh he had inclosed in her place." The whole article is full of quaint translations based upon an attempt to show that there are no difficulties whatever, moral or otherwise, in the Old Testament history. The other papers in this number are of very moderate interest.

Our intense opposition and dislike of the Roman elements in Papal Christianity does not blind us to the fact that there is a marked progress in the intellectual life of the priesthood and people of that body in this country; an intellectual life which will assuredly strengthen independence of thought and the priesthood of the believer. Catholicism can be intense only where the intellect is inactive or the Church suffers persecution. The specifically Roman elements disappear under liberty of thought and freedom of expression. Both the "Catholic World" and the "American Catholic Review" are periodicals of very considerable ability, the former especially is edited with much popular tact. The leading article in the October number has an interest for theologians by reason of its attempt to show that Buddhism at the point where it approximates the liturgy and teaching of Christianity is really an imitation. But we suspect that the question cannot be so easily disposed of. There is a wide field for inquiry and investigation respecting these resemblances between Buddhistic and Christian doctrine and government, which we commend to those who in the coming years propose to make comparative theology a chief study.

One of the most interesting of recent announcements is that relating to the "New Princeton Review." This is to be published six times a year by A. C. Armstrong & Son of New York, and Hodder & Stoughton of London, and is to be under the editorial management of William M. Sloane, Professor of History in Princeton College. A very noteworthy list of contributors has been secured, and the departments of fiction, travel, and

belles-lettres are to have particular prominence. The aim of this new review is to find a place not occupied by any other periodical. In attempting to do this it will be fresh and rich in its treatment of American subjects; in philosophy it will be realistic, as opposed to idealism and agnosticism; and if it fulfills its pledge to discuss the subject of physiological psychology it will certainly do more than most of the theological reviews have done. In politics it proposes to discuss whatever is important at home and abroad without belonging to any party. It will attempt to popularize science, especially in the department of investigation and discovery; *and it will not discuss theology*, but will strive as a principal aim to promote higher morality and religion. The first number under this promising programme was issued January 1, and certainly deserves the warmest welcome, both for its merit and for its fulfillment of its promise.

Charles Dudley Warner writes much of substantial value in his paper of "Society in the New South." It is a study of former life at the South as well as of life at present. Among the notable things said is this: that the South is not, and never has been, disturbed by *isms* of any sort. Spiritualism has absolutely no lodgment there, not even touching the excitable and superstitious colored race. The temperance question has reached a very high position, and is treated in a very common-sense way, and not as a matter of politics. While there is much said in favor of the new South, the writer has the courage of criticism. Mr. Warner says, that life in the South is still of a more simple form, and society not so complex, as in the North; a little more natural, more serious in manner, though not in fact; more frank or impulsive, and less calculating. The love of beauty in the South is marked. Yet with all its social accomplishments, its love of color, and its climatic tendency to the sensuous side of life, the South has been unexpectedly wanting in a fine art development—namely, in music and pictorial art.

This entertaining paper by Mr. Warner is followed by a study by Dr. M'Cosh of "What an American Philosophy Should Be." It is very interesting to find Dr. M'Cosh, who came under the American stars late in life, writing as if he were a thorough American, and asserting that our realistic philosophy will, in the end, secure attention and recognition. Dr. C. H. Parkhurst, whose pulpit style is marvelously crisp, shows that he can adapt himself to the necessities of a literary style in his paper on "The Christian Conception of Property." It is an article which is innocent of abstractions. This paper has admirable illustrations, is full of bright sayings, and says the many valuable things in a strong and telling way. But the article which will be most eagerly read is that by Professor Young on "Lunar Problems now under Debate," in which some very valuable and recent knowledge is laid down. "The Political Situation" is an anonymous article without large force. J. B. M'Master, the author of the "History of the People of the United States," has an interesting paper on a "Free Press in the Middle Colonies." It is quite a surprise to find the beginning of a story entitled "Monsieur Motte" in a heavy review. It is bright, but

has rather too much untranslated French for the average reader. This first number is so good that we shall eagerly look for the second.

The January "New Englander" and "Yale Review" opens with a review of the Life of Garrison by his sons, in which Leonard Woolsey Bacon writes appreciatively of the eminent abolitionist. We are glad to find that he points out, what we have pointed out in another place, that Mr. Garrison's character was by no means the simple and unworldly one which it has by many been thought to be. While it is the aim of his children to present him as a wholly faultless character, they afford the proof that he was not what they represented him to be—but was a master of Billingsgate. Mr. Bacon does not hesitate to quote expressions that show that he knew how to brag, and that if he was not passionate or vindictive he was something worse; he put on the appearance of passion or vindictiveness, or of mildness and inoffensiveness, as he deemed it for his own interest or the interest of his cause.

Professor Samuel Harris, of the Yale Theological Seminary, under the question "Have We a Theology?" combats the idea that theology is the foe of religion, and that it must be omitted as an element of pulpit success. Concerning this he says: "Whoever succeeds as an evangelist is a preacher of theology. Whoever has heard Mr. Moody, the greatest of them all, knows that his preaching is eminently theological; the same is true of successful evangelists generally." He holds that declamation against theology legitimately issues in irreligion and unbelief, or in what the Dean of Norwich called "maudlin sentimentalism," with its disparagement of any definite doctrine; a nerveless religion without the sinew and bone of doctrine. The article is not so much an answer to the question in the title as it is a setting forth of the importance of believing something and knowing how to state it.

Ex-Governor Chamberlain, in "Present Aspects of the Southern Question," looks at the fact that the right to vote is not freely exercised in several States of the South, or, if exercised, the true results of legal voting are overcome or suppressed by fraudulent votes or false counting. He admits that whatever influence or terror was exerted upon the voters of any locality did not take the form of preventing voters from reaching the polls. We do not find any very valuable suggestions as to the cure for this state of things in the South, though the author finds much hope for the peaceful adjustment of the controversies and antagonisms in the admitted loyalty and patriotism of the people of the South, and in the development of its industries.

Dr. W. W. Patton has a paper on the weak points of the Evangelical Faith as commonly stated. Among these the first mentioned is, "that it has divided itself into numerous sharply defined and not always friendly sects." He holds that these divisions and their perpetuation to the present day show that no formulated statement of evangelical doctrine commands general assent; that each attempt to make one with clearness and definiteness leads to dissent. The second

fact pointed out is, that "the rival evangelistic sects, after ages of discussion, have made but small impression upon their non-evangelistic but professionally Christian opposers, except in the limitation of the growth of the erring bodies by spiritual power." He holds as a third fact, that "a disintegration of the formulated evangelistic faith has set in." Dr. Patton asks in a very tentative manner the following questions: whether evangelical preaching has not presented a theory of the world as it is, in order to make its system hold together, adapting its idea of probation to a model New England village rather than to the general condition of the world. A second query is, whether we have not insisted too much on the necessity of a regulation piety in order to salvation, and thus failed to recognize that which was unusual or unprofessional in form and microscopic in amount. The other points of his article relate almost entirely to the Calvinistic ideas of evangelical religion, and the whole paper is thoroughly illustrative of what every Methodist knows, that only those demand a new theology who have accepted the old Calvinism. It is very interesting also to observe how, in the quotations made by the author from George Eliot, Dr. Oswald, Russell Lowell, and others, the criticisms are all turned against conceptions of preaching and of the relation of religion to life which have been relatively unknown to Methodists. The discussion as to Yale College and its interests is continued in this number by Henry C. Kingsley under the title "Yale College under President Porter's Administration." This article is chiefly a summary of the financial progress of the college under the administration of President Porter. There are some pleasant notices of Yale graduates from 1701 to 1745 by Rev. Dr. I. N. Tarbox.

The January Andover has a very thoughtful paper on "Revelation as a Factor in Evolution," by Rev. F. H. Johnson, which is very well worth reading as indicating a line of adjustment between things that have been supposed to be hopelessly unfriendly. Professor Ladd, in "Education, New and Old," criticises the Harvard plan and shows many facts favorable to the more conservative methods of Yale. There is a most interesting sketch of the life and work of Louis Agassiz by Professor Asa Gray. Professor L. F. Stearns has a very thoughtful paper on the data of the doctrine of the atonement. He notices the fact that the present condition of Christian thought with reference to that most important doctrine of Christian truth is peculiar. The atonement itself, as the great saving fact of the Gospel, was never more prominent; but, nevertheless, the doctrine lacks definite shape and statement. His article is intended to furnish some aids to reflection with regard to the fundamental conceptions involved in the doctrine of the atonement. He insists that the position of the atonement in the Christian system must be determined at the outset; the objects of the atonement must be definitely stated and distinguished; we must determine the meanings of salvation and punishment; we must come to some clear conception of the atonement itself; attention must be fixed upon the vicarious quality of the Saviour's work; the relation

or proportion of the death of Christ as an element in the atonement deserves closer consideration. From these suggestions it will be seen that Professor Stearns, who is of the Theological Seminary at Bangor, Maine, finds that there is a great deal of work to be done before the new theology is written. Dr. John E. Todd, of New Haven, has written a very strong letter to the "Andover Review" concerning its teaching with regard to probation, and the best part of the editorial in this January number is taken up with an answer to Dr. Todd's queries. A very pleasant feature of this number is a paper on Church architecture, in which a fine engraving of the exterior and interior of the Central Church at Worcester, Mass., is given, with a ground-plan.

It is evident from the discussions in the English Reviews that Disestablishment and Disendowment are in the air, and that the present strength of the Anglican Church will be spent in saving as much as possible of the conditions, social and financial, upon which so much of its power depends. Thus in the December number of the "Contemporary Review" the Dean of Wells lays down several propositions which he calls "A Plan of Church Reform; or, A Little Draft for a Church Reform Bill." Professor Sayce renews the discussion on the origin of the alphabet. Gamaliel Bradford discusses the government of the United States in a paper of great intelligence. Mr. Bradford attempts to expound for English readers the principles which underlie our government, especially in comparison with English methods. The article is very valuable as correcting some misapprehensions among English readers, and many an intelligent American will find his knowledge of his own land increased by this paper written with American force but English carefulness.

Professor Fairbairn returns to the well-worn subject of Reason and Religion, especially showing the want of self-consistency of Cardinal Newman. This is one of a series of articles which has attracted great attention abroad.

Professor Huxley, whose name has not of late appeared as frequently as in former times in contemporary literature, opens the December number of the "Nineteenth Century" with an article on the interpreters of Genesis and the interpreters of nature. This article is largely a reply to some criticisms by Mr. Gladstone on the work of Dr. Reville. A paper of timely interest is that by Fortescue Fox on "Stimulants and Narcotics—their Use and Abuse." This article is the freshest summary of what is known as to the distribution of narcotics and their use, and the conclusions of the author will not be accepted by many, as he says that the various substances considered are of use to man; that in no case is any one justified in saying, "This thing is without its proper use in the world; it is an agent of unmitigated evil." He holds that we have no sufficient ground to condemn the use of stimulant-narcotics; certain forms of indulgence he condemns; excesses must be deplored. The article is worth

reading for its information, if it be not followed for its logic. The other articles are of interest chiefly to Englishmen, with the exception of that on "Solar Myths," by Professor Max Müller.

"The Overland Monthly" maintains itself with increasing power. In the December number will be found a valuable account of the present condition of the Lick Observatory, from which it appears that the building is completed and endowed, and that the great object-glass, the rough casting for which has just been accomplished after twenty unsuccessful trials lasting six years, is in the hands of the polishers and finishers. In a comparatively short time Mr. Lick's gift to his fellow-citizens of California will begin to bear fruit. E. L. Huggins contributes a suggestion on the Indian question, which is, substantially, that the true policy is to segregate and isolate the small tribes from each other as far as possible, instead of herding them together. In other words, the suggestions are very much like those made by Major-Gen. Sheridan. There is also here a valuable study of the Chinese question, and it is pleasant to find a writer in this magazine taking the broad and humanitarian side. But the number is particularly notable for a very remarkable paper by George H. Howison on the question, "Is Modern Science Pantheistic?" This paper was presented at the Concord School of Philosophy, July 31, 1885, and was written as an introduction to a symposium on the question, "Is Pantheism the Legitimate Outcome of Modern Science?" The other contributors were Mr. John Fiske, Dr. F. E. Abbott, Dr. A. P. Peabody, Dr. W. T. Harris, and Dr. Edward Montgomery. The first part of Mr. Fiske's contribution has appeared in the book entitled "The Idea of God." We should be glad to quote from this paper if it were possible. We can only say that it defines Pantheism, shows its relation to Materialism and Idealism, exhibits the contrasts between Pantheism and Deism, and unfolds the permanent truth and the permanent defect in Pantheism; shows why it is to be deprecated, why it is very profoundly interesting, and asserts that modern science is strictly Non-pantheistic. This article is remarkable as showing the reaction which Christian scholars have expected for a long time, and is well worthy of being extracted and carefully studied by all who are acquainted with the problems suggested by scientific study. In the January number will be found other papers of great interest. The magazine is true to the soil on which it is printed, but is as broad as the whole world. A very pleasant article is that on "An Autumn Ramble in Washington Territory." "The Wyoming Anti-Chinese Riot" is discussed once more by A. A. Sargent. Mr. Sargent writes from the Pacific coast standpoint, and while careful not to uphold the riot, much that he says is in the line of palliation, if not justification.

A very notable feature of recent magazine work is the appearance in both Harper's and the Century of Studies of Persian Architecture, Scenery, and Life, by S. G. W. Benjamin. While, of course, much has been known of the history of Persia, its geographical situation is such as

to make its capital a city of important diplomatic residence; yet little is known popularly of its interior and the manners and customs of its people. Mr. Benjamin contributes much that is new, and more that is valuable, while the admirable illustrations throw light upon the physical characteristics and domestic life of one of the most enduring of cities. In the January Harper's the most notable article is that on "A Lamp Full of Oil," by Geo. R. Gibson, which studies petroleum from the first effort to sink a well to the construction of the pipe lines, and the various methods by which it is refined as well as transported. This article is a marvel of good writing, and he who reads it carefully will know all that needs to be known by a person of general intelligence on the development and importance of one of the great industries of America. There is also in this number a most remarkable story in the negro dialect, entitled "Unc' Edinboro's Drowndin'." It stands altogether at the head of such contributions to magazine literature. The dialect is not obtrusive, while the power of the story is very great; and as it is told in monologue, the artistic difficulty of creating such a story is largely increased. We commend also to our readers a very valuable paper on "The Militia," by Gen. George B. M'Clellan, the last contribution of a man whose organizing skill was probably not excelled in our Civil War, but whose ability to lead seemed not proportionate to his ability to form something worthy to lead.

The January Century, besides the article on Persia to which we have already referred, has some very valuable restorations of fossil birds or flying animals, midway between reptilian and bird forms. This article deserves attention not only for its intense interest, but for its importance scientifically. It puts beyond a question the existence of birds with teeth, and of birds whose vertebræ and other characteristics allied them very closely to reptilian forms. Especially we would call attention to the drawing of the fossil archæopteryx, and to the restoration on the opposite page, which seems amply justified by this creature as it is preserved in the fossil state; and yet it is so peculiar, not to say hideous, that if one were to see the restoration without having seen the fossil form, it would be numbered among the pranks of a scientific humorist, rather than a careful restoration from known data. It is quite evident from this number, also, that stories of southern life and of local character are to have a prominent place, for a long time to come, in our American literature. Slavery produced so many dramatic situations, and freedom has created so many new ones, that a double interest attaches both to the whites and blacks in respect of the dramatic possibilities of these relations. There is a pathos about the black race, and their past relations to the whites, which can never lose its power, and there is scarcely a better illustration in existence of this than in the sketch called "The Cloverfields' Carriage," by F. R. Stockton, in this January "Century." It is as true to the life as possible. The Rev. Ed. Hungerford has a paper on "Spiritual Preaching for Our Times," in which he says many bright and excellent things. Some will dispute the following: "Any one who comes much in contact with church-goers will observe that there has been among them in

the last ten or fifteen years an increasing demand for preaching which promotes a spiritual Sabbath and spiritual faith. If, especially here in America, church-goers at one period have been to a considerable extent captivated by a preaching which lowered its tone and thought to catch men with tricks and sensationalism, that day has gone by." Concerning spiritual preaching he says: "It is not preaching with what in many quarters passes for unction. The preacher must come as Jesus came from the Jordan, having the heart so transfused by a sense of the Spirit and spiritual relations that he will speak out of depths so profound that his words seem to touch the sources of being. This is unction. . . . What often goes current under the name is nothing more than an acquired manner and tone belonging to the department of elocution, and equally available for themes spiritual or secular. Spiritual preaching is not to be confounded with revival preaching. Revival preaching as a main dependence cannot answer the demand of any times. Spiritual preaching is reviving; it is not necessarily revivalistic." The article is well worth consideration.

Historically, one of the most important papers in the series on the Civil War is that in this number by Gen. John Pope on the second battle of Bull Run. Gen. Pope explicitly denies that he ever dated any dispatch from his "head-quarters in the saddle," and presents afresh in large part the evidence which seemed sufficient at the time for the condemnation of Major-Gen. Fitz John Porter.

Our welcome friend, Lippincott's Monthly, takes a new departure with the first of January. It has a new cover which is really tasteful, and has a broad page undivided into columns, print delightful, and paper equal to the best. It is intended to make it thoroughly alive, and it is to be sold at twenty-five cents per number, or two dollars per annum in advance. It is not illustrated, but is thoroughly interesting. There is a very notable series of extracts from the writings of George Eliot, giving criticisms of her contemporaries, these criticisms being extracted from various English reviews. We doubt if better critical work in short space can be found in any language than is here resuscitated from the anonymous work of their great author.

Gail Hamilton does not find her soul thrilled with the glories of Civil Service Reform. We are a little afraid that the political disappointment of her relative has added a shade of additional acidity to her views of American life. Her work is always interesting, and if, like others, she is sometimes "intoxicated by the exuberance of her own verbosity," she only falls under that subtle habit of nature which leads us to despise that which has proved the ruin of our ambitions. The country always is tottering to its ruin in the sight of those who are politically disappointed.

An excellent portrait of Sir Henry Thompson appears as the frontispiece of the January "English Illustrated Magazine," engraved from the picture by Millais, so spirited and life-like that it is difficult to believe that it is an engraving from a painting. There is also in this

number a very pleasant summary of life one hundred years ago. "A Month in Sicily" is well described and well illustrated, taking the traveler, as it does, out of the ordinary lines of European movement. Those who love the Essays of Elia will greatly enjoy the illustrations which accompany the paper on Charles Lamb in Hertfordshire, which breathe the true spirit of old English life.

We count "The Expositor," edited by the Rev. W. Robertson Nicoll, M.A., published in this country by A. D. F. Randolph & Co., New York, among the very best and most scholarly of the aids to the modern minister. It is not so heavy as a review, and is not so trifling as a daily; but it is interesting, solid, timely, and thoroughly helpful. We have no American magazine which fills its place.

We gave a glad welcome to the "African Methodist Episcopal Church Review" on its first appearance, a welcome which is renewed with each successive number. It is edited by Dr. B. T. Tanner, and there are few American reviews which can show a better table of contents or better treatment. The first article is by T. T. Fortune, the editor of the "New York Freeman," on "Civil Rights and Social Privileges." Mr. Fortune writes with great vigor and with considerable learning, but with too much heat to make the best impression. Professor Scarboro, of Wilberforce University, has a very noteworthy paper on "Fatalism in Homer and Virgil," which will interest students. The breadth of this magazine may be seen from the fact that it treats not only American problems, but "The Congo Valley," "Science by Unscientific Methods," "The Commercial Position of the United States on the High Seas," "The Life of Lord Lawrence and its Lessons," and "The Development of Progress."

BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

Christ and Christianity: Studies on Christology, Creeds and Confessions, Protestantism and Romanism, Reformation Principles, Sunday Observance, Religious Freedom, and Christian Union. By PHILIP SCHAFF. 8vo, pp. 310. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

IT is a wonder how Dr. Schaff can perform the amount of literary labor required for the production of the books and other publications that appear with his name. He no doubt has an able corps of trained assistants who have acquired his methods of thinking and style of writing, but that fact only partially solves the mystery, for the evident originality of thought and manner of many of these productions precludes the idea that they are "'prentice work." His acquaintance with the course of the religious thought of the age seems to be very extensive, while his knowledge of ecclesiastical affairs, in all their departments, and during

all the ages of the Church, must be simply cyclopedic. And in addition to the results of his own original thinking, he has also, as a purveyor of other men's thoughts, greatly enlarged the religious literature of the times; and whatever he handles he also enriches with his own suggestions, and often with valuable additions of supplementary matter.

The latest born of his literary progeny (perhaps a later will have appeared before this shall be printed) is fittingly described by the title given above. It is not a compact treatise devoted to a single subject, but a set of "Studies," on somewhat related subjects, yet each sufficiently individualized, and complete in itself: "Chips," Max Müller would call them, not, however, castaways, but well wrought-out though hitherto unused pieces—oftentimes the most suggestive because the freest of the author's thinkings. The pieces that make up this volume, though they lie scattered along the most frequented and well-trodden paths, and seem designed to give out the writer's views only tentatively, and more as suggestions than conclusions, are nevertheless full of interest by reason of their felicitous groupings and apt intimations as to the proper solutions of not a few difficulties in theological and textual interpretations. Among these things are some of the "burning questions" which, in these days, are awakening not a little earnest thought, and at times are shadowed with misgivings.

The composite character of the volume is shown by its table of contents. First comes the author's "Inaugural Address," delivered in 1871, when he assumed his professorial chair in the Union Theological Seminary—simply a survey of the evangelical Protestant theology of that date. After this, constituting the most considerable "Part," follow a series of papers with the common title of "Christological Studies;" and then in succession a "Part" entitled "Polemical and Irenical," and another on "Moral and Social," subjects. His discussions of a variety of matters under the general heading "Christ in Theology" are especially significant. The subjects introduced are, for the most part, considered in their historical relations, but also somewhat dogmatically. They involve questions that violently agitated the early Church, about Christ's person and character, his divinity and his humanity, and the "hypostatical" union of the two complete natures in his one mysterious person. These questions, having first shaken the Church to its foundations, were determinatively settled by the Councils of Nice and Constantinople and Chalcedon, the last of which solemnly anathematized Nestorius, and so constituted the Nestorianism of ecclesiastical history, a heresy though it may be doubted whether any other of that age so happily conceived and stated the scriptural doctrine of Christ's person as now held and taught by the "orthodox" as did that proscribed and so-called heretic.

Dr. Schaff's summary of the accepted doctrines respecting Christ's person, which seems to comprise all that is of much importance, may be epitomized with some necessary repetitions, in these brief statements: 1. That there was a real incarnation of the divine Logos in the person of Jesus of Nazareth, so that he who was very and eternally God became

also man, and so was at once "very God and very man." 2. That the two natures in Christ's person were not blended together, but remained distinct and unchanged. 3. That the God-man, with two distinct and complete natures, was a single person—one and undivided. 4. That in Christ's dual person each nature retained its own proper attributes and affections, each having its own will and its distinctive consciousness. 5. That while each of the two natures that united in Christ's person possessed all the attributes essential to a completed personality, yet was he only one person, at once man with men and God with God. 6. That all Christ's properly Messianic work was performed in his complex person, whether dying upon the cross or rising again from the dead; and in that dual character he is now the Head of the militant Church, and the exalted High-priest of our profession. 7. That Christ's human nature was specifically prepared for him, and was not designed to form, at any time, a distinct personality, nor ever to be dissevered from his divinity. These points are set down as indicative of the substance of "Excumenical Christology"—the *consensus* of evangelical orthodoxy, which has been conserved through all the ages of the Church, and which now commands the consent of the most learned, and is also the joy and confidence of the penitent and believing.

It is often assumed that clear and sharp definitions of doctrines are necessarily polemical, and such they may sometimes be, but only incidentally; if studied in a spirit of reverent devotion, they will not fail to be "wholesome," and "full of comfort," and because we believe that such will be the effect of studying Dr. Schaff's book we heartily recommend its perusal.

Beyond the Grave. By Dr. HERMAN CREMER, Professor of Theology in the University of Griefswald. Translated from the German by Rev. SAMUEL T. LOWRIE, D.D., Pastor of the Ewing Presbyterian Church, near Trenton, N. J. With an Introduction by the Rev. A. A. HODGE, D.D., Professor of Didactic and Polemic Theology, Princeton Theological Seminary. 18mo, pp. 153. New York: Harper & Brothers.

The Doctrine of Endless Punishment. By WILLIAM G. T. SHEDD, D.D., Roosevelt Professor of Systematic Theology in Union Theological Seminary. Small 12mo, pp. 163. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Progressive Orthodoxy. A Contribution to the Christian Interpretation of Christian Doctrines. By the Editors of "The Andover Review," Professors in Andover Theological Seminary. 18mo, pp. 258. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin, & Co.

No two of the books whose titles we give above lie in precisely the same plane, or belong strictly to the same school of thought, and yet they are all included in a broader but still well-defined classification. There is manifestly an awakening of inquiry among Christian thinkers and teachers respecting the future life, which is leading to a re-examination and re-statement of the opinions that have prevailed concerning that subject and collateral ones, with a weighing anew of the evidence upon which those opinions rest—whether scriptural, ecclesiastical, or speculative. And although no ultimate conclusions have been reached, yet some

important intermediate ones have been made very evident. It is demonstrated that no one position is so well fortified that it may not be assailed with some show of reason; and also that large parts of nearly all theories of the future of the human race find but a feeble and uncertain support from the Bible; and also that the available evidence respecting men's relations to and expectation of the future state stand in great need of a thorough re-consideration and affirmation. And when this shall have been done, no doubt it will appear that the larger part of what we have been taught in hymns and liturgies—in mystical musings and imaginative speculations and dogmatic asseverations—about the details of the spirit-world, are sadly destitute of evidence. A learned writer of the present time, discussing some points of this general subject, closed his reflections with the remark: "The whole subject of eschatology needs to be restated;" and to him who may undertake that task we would suggest a proper consideration of the apostle's declaration, "It doth not yet appear what we shall be;" and that it is not best, on such a subject, to be wise above what is written.

Of the three books above named. the first is originally by a German theological professor, having been turned into English by a learned and highly conservative Presbyterian minister, and it comes forth in its new form with the broad indorsement (with only one slight exception) of an accepted representative of the old-school orthodoxy of our Calvinistic Churches. It is therefore a representative re-statement of the doctrines of "last things," as respects the human individual, as held and taught by average orthodox Calvinists; but while the old faith is re-asserted in its entirety, there are attempts—some of them plausible, and more of them fanciful, and nearly all of them chiefly conjectural—to answer a variety of curious rather than useful questions relating to various details of the subject. The book is likely to be about equally harmless and useless; but it marks a phase of the prevailing discussion.

The second is essentially of the same school of thought, but as the product of a master mind it handles its subjects with distinguished ability. Dr. Shedd contributed one of a set of papers on "Endless Punishment" which appeared in the "North American Review" for February, 1885, in which he discussed only the "Rational Argument," and that paper, somewhat re-written, with a brief *résumé* of the "History of the Doctrine," and an extended re-examination of the "Biblical Argument," makes up the present volume. That it is an able production the name of the writer is a sufficient pledge. But the fullness of the writer's own convictions largely unfits him for patiently hearing and considering the doubts of those less fully convinced. Perhaps it renders him a little too ready to find his own opinions sustained by portions of Scripture which to others are less clear and positive. And yet it must be said, that the usual method of evading his arguments, instead of answering them, is the more prudent, if less manly.

The third work named has the advantage of novelty, not, perhaps, in its teachings so much as in its methods, and in the fact that it demon-

strates the completeness of the doctrinal somersault performed by the teaching faculty of a venerable theological school that was established for the express purpose of maintaining and propagating the doctrines that it seems now especially intent on destroying. The volume is chiefly a reproduction of a series of editorial papers issued during the last year in the "Andover Review," which have been widely read, and quite naturally have elicited wide discussion. Of the nine different papers, the third is entitled "Eschatology;" but it considers very little else than the question of a future probation for those who die without having heard of Christ and his Gospel, which it answers in favor of the presumed "fair chance" in the future world which it is asserted they have not in this. The arguments presented are the same that have before done service in the same line, only the writers appear to be especially disinclined to rest their conclusions on the teachings of Holy Scripture, and especially the words of Christ, evidently because his words more than any others shut us up to despair of the "restoration" of the unsaved in this life. The newness of the matter that makes up this volume is not in its substance, but in its form and modes of statement, and in the newly applied title of orthodoxy. Much that is given as *new* may be found in almost any non-Calvinistic treatise on theology, and other less acceptable matters have long been known but only to be rejected.

Critical and Exegetical Hand-Book to the Epistles to Timothy and Titus. By JOHN ED. HUTHER, Th.D. Translated by DAVID HUNTER, B.A. And, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, by Dr. GOTTLIEB LUNEMANN. Translated by Rev. MAURICE J. EVANS, B.A. With a Preface and Supplement to the American Edition, by TIMOTHY DWIGHT, Professor of Sacred Literature in Yale College. 8vo, pp. 753. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

Meyer's "Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament," as written by the author's own hand, extended only to the end of Paul's Epistle to the Colossians, his work being brought to a conclusion at that point by his death. After that event, which seemed to be so great a loss to biblical learning, the remaining books of the New Testament were taken in hand by two other scholars, whose personal and literary relations to the deceased writer seemed especially to qualify them for the work. Thessalonians and Hebrews were undertaken by Professor Lunemann, and the pastoral epistles, Peter and Jude, James and John, by Pastor Huther. Revelation is still unwritten. These assignments, and the work that has so resulted, have proved highly satisfactory; and the commentaries produced are unquestionably of the highest excellence. If something of Meyer's almost unequaled critical exactness is wanting, the deficiency is abundantly compensated by the breadth and the fullness of the substituted productions.

The volume in hand, which is a part of the first American edition (corresponding to two volumes of Clark's edition), has received the careful editorial inspection of Professor Dwight, who greatly enriched the exegetical notes by original matter, extending to more than a hundred and

twenty pages, made up of additional notes of considerable extent, and of great value. This new edition of Meyer is, no doubt, destined to wide use among American scholars, both because of its less price and its greater fullness of matter.

The People's Bible. Discourses upon Holy Scripture. By JOSEPH PARKER, D.D., Minister of the City Temple, Holburn Viaduct, London. Author of "Ecce Deus," etc. Volume I. The Book of Genesis. 8vo, pp. 368. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

Dr. Joseph Parker has earned for himself a reputation that attracts readers to his writings as well as hearers to his temple; and although that reputation is not that of an astute biblical critic and learned exegete, still any defects in that direction is abundantly compensated for by his aptitude in detecting the spirit of the sacred narratives with which he deals, and by his artistic facility in grouping thoughts and in presenting realized pictures. A "People's Bible" prepared by him cannot fail to be at once acceptable and useful to those for whom it is designed. The undertaking, which, we take it, embraces the whole volume of God's word, is a gigantic one, which must extend through many years of diligent and laborious effort. May he live to write its "Finis!" The Book of Genesis offers some especially fine themes for the exercise of Dr. Parker's genius, notably the idyllic picture of "Abraham's Domestic Life," and "The Last Days of Jacob," while the whole story of Joseph is, though veritable, still a romance in the very best sense; and these, with others, the author has turned to good account. The book is valuable as a commentary, but its peculiar excellence is that of a picture gallery of sacred scenes.

Views of Religion. By THEODORE PARKER. With an Introduction by JAMES FREEMAN CLARKE. 8vo, pp. 466. Boston: American Unitarian Association. $1.

Theodore Parker was once a power, but rather after the fashion of a cyclone than of the steadily acting forces of nature; and like that of the cyclone his career was brief—perhaps, too, it should be added, it was also destructive. Though still remembered by many not yet old, yet is he practically forgotten; and his writings, once widely read, and surely not wanting in both strength and finish, are now obsolete. And this compilation of select pieces, although heralded by a favored name of the same school, but not the same, and offered at only a nominal price, will fail to bring a new life to the fame and the works of the renowned apostle of unbelief.

The Book of Daniel; or, the Second Volume of Prophecy. Translated and Expounded, with a Preliminary Sketch of Antecedent Prophecy. By JAMES G. MURPHY, D.D., LL.D., T.C.D., Professor of Hebrew. 12mo, pp. 203. Andover: Henry F. Draper.

Dr. Murphy has not to win a reputation, for that he has already done. But he here enters upon a specially difficult field, with a formidable rival in Dr. Pusey, whose elaborate and marvelously learned commentary on Daniel has just been republished. But even in this contest his reputation

is not likely to suffer loss. The "Preliminary Sketch," which makes up the first half of the book, is especially valuable.

God's Revelations of Himself to Men, as successively made in the Patriarchal, Jewish, and Christian Dispensations, and in the Messianic Kingdom. By SAMUEL J. ANDREWS, Author of "The Life of our Lord upon Earth." 12mo, pp. 391. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. $2 50.

All who, long years ago, as we did, read Mr. Andrews's "Life of our Lord," will be likely to take up this volume with a predisposition in its favor, for that work is a model of learning without ostentation, of modesty of manners, and of reverent treatment, along with honest criticism and common-sense judgment. It was among the older of the numerous family of Lives of Christ, and few of the junior members have gone beyond it in real value. The present volume is a kindred one, and yet very unlike the former in many things, though written in a like spirit. With many things respecting God's dealings with men we might hesitate to agree, and especially in respect to the literal fulfillment of prophecy, and the materialistic nature of the Messianic kingdom; and yet we can commend the work as instructive, and wholesome in tone and spirit.

Studies in the Gospel according to St. John. By Rev. J. CYNDDYLAN JONES, Author of "Studies in Matthew," and "Acts." Edited by Rev. W. P. HARRISON, D.D. 12mo, pp. 337. Nashville, Tenn.: Southern Methodist Publishing House.

Mr. Jones, a Welsh Calvinistic Methodist, is somewhat known by his formerly published expository works. He is a writer of spirit and vivacity rather than of large erudition or profound thought, earnest and evangelical in respect to the character of his utterances, and notwithstanding some of his opinions against which his editor finds cause to caution the reader, his "Studies" may be perused with profit.

Studies Supplementary to the Studies in the Forty Days between Our Lord's Resurrection and Ascension. By ANDREW A. LIPSCOMB, D.D., LL.D., Emeritus Professor, Vanderbilt University. 12mo, pp. 300. Nashville, Tenn.: Southern Methodist Publishing House.

Our readers have had the opportunity to know something of Dr. Lipscomb's style, both of thinking and writing, which is very fully illustrated in this work, and in that to which it is designed to be a Supplement. The period covered is that devoted to the planting and establishing the Church in the earth, a period especially rich in evidential results which appeal to man's own spiritual consciousness. Among these things the author is at his best.

The Discipline of the Christian Character. By R. W. CHURCH, Dean of St. Paul's. 12mo, pp. 139. London: Macmillan & Co.

Five discourses delivered at St. Paul's (London) during the month of August, 1885. They are excellent in spirit, though not remarkably spiritual or spirited; but they have to a praiseworthy degree the negative excellence of not attempting to be sensational.

PHILOSOPHY, METAPHYSICS, AND GENERAL SCIENCE.

The Consolations of Science; or, Contributions from Science to the Hope of Immortality, and Kindred Themes. By JACOB STRAUB. With an Introduction by HIRAM W. THOMAS, D.D., Pastor of the People's Church, Chicago, Ill. 8vo, pp. 435. Chicago: The Colgrove Book Company.

We are not of those who stand in mortal dread of the results of the growth of science upon the Christian faith, nor do we entirely sympathize with the spirit that prompts the efforts that some good people are making for the reconciliation of science and religion; nor are we solicitous to secure "aids to faith" from human learning. No doubt it is true, as we are so often reminded, that since both science and revelation are expressions of the truth, there can be no disagreement between them. But in order that the argument may be obvious, the truths of both science and revelation must be thoroughly understood. And since theology and secular learning are both very far from complete, as sciences, their harmonization cannot be expected to be perfect. In theology we must believe and practice in order that we may know; and having so learned Christ, there will usually be found the ability to give a reason for the hope that is in us. And having that hope, we may freely welcome all possible advancements in science.

The method of proof, in the book under notice, is that now commonly used: that is, to show that man is, as to his real self, a spiritual being, and therefore wholly exempt from the vicissitudes that belong to all material things, and, therefore, that he is not a subject of scientific determinations; and, also, that man's spiritual character and moral attributes clearly imply his immortality, with certain intimate relations between the present life and the hereafter. The speculations respecting the modes of existence in the future state, and also about the possible intercourse between the two worlds, are much more fanciful than real, and will no doubt prove to be more curious than useful.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

Personal Memoirs of U. S. Grant. In Two Volumes. Vol. I. 8vo, pp. 584. New York: Charles L. Webster & Co.

General Grant has hitherto been recognized in the double character of soldier and statesman, and as to both sides of this character, as shown by his career, his friends are content that he shall be judged according to his works. His personal and private life has also arrested general attention, and secured for him a kind and degree of honor even more valuable than any so justly rendered to him for his conduct in public life, because of both the intrinsic excellence and the rarity of such qualities among renowned public men. And now, last of all, and chiefly as a posthumous award, he comes before the public to receive recognition as a man

of letters. Other great military leaders, ever since the time of Cesar, in Gaul and Britain, have occasionally written out their memoirs of battles and campaigns, but we scarcely know of any other who, after an exceptionally distinguished career in official life—military and civil—has been able deliberately to record his "personal memoirs" for the use of the great public. And these records of a busy life, which belong to the history of the country, are of incalculable value, because they are the solemn testimony of an exceptionally competent witness to transactions at once very important and much controverted; and prepared as they were, after life's ambitions and rivalries were ended, and also under the shadow of certain and nearly approaching death, they are in the highest degree trustworthy.

The style of writing is plain, clear, and direct, in good and forcible English, more suggestive of the Saxon than the classical fountains of our language, with something of the concise and comprehensive certainty of meaning that characterizes the best kind of military dispatches, and with fewest possible figures or illustrations for mere ornamentation. But any possible lack in these things is more than compensated by the writer's complete mastery of the matter in hand, and the consequent life-like reality of the narrations. As these memoirs are profoundly personal, so the writer presents what he has to tell us with all possible freedom. He tells of his early days with entire frankness, neither concealing nor ostentatiously parading the homely rusticity of his childhood's home and its conditions. His cadet life, as it was uneventful, is dispatched in a very few pages. The Mexican war presents a more fruitful theme, and is treated accordingly—the manifest and inexcusable iniquity of its inauguration on our side, without provocation, and almost solely for personal political designs, and for the extension of the area of slavery, is more than conceded; the bravery of our soldiers, and the well-earned successes of the commanding generals (Taylor and Scott), despite the lack of the sympathy and support of the government at Washington, are witnessed without ostentatious assertion, by the simple story of the war. The period from 1850 to 1860, as it was apparently alike uneventful and unpromising, is passed over rapidly, yet so as to maintain the completeness of the personal biography. With the outbreak of the Rebellion begins the history of that remarkable career which has made the name and fame of its subject the most illustrious of modern times. This first volume carries the narrative by Belmont, and Donelson, and Shiloh, and Corinth, to Vicksburg, ending with the account of the strange — not to use any stronger terms—scattering, by orders from Washington, of the army that had taken Vicksburg, to the great peril of the advantages of that achievement. In his accounts of his military movements, General Grant, though very sparing in the use of complaints or open censures, still leaves his readers in no doubt as to his estimate of men and measures; and the tone and manner of his speaking of certain of his generals, for whom, it is well known, he had a great partiality, evidently secured by their truthfulness and soldierly qualities, indicate also his less favorable opinions of those

not so commended. Nor is he at all indefinite or ambiguous in his references to the indefensible unrighteousness of the Rebellion itself, nor of the unpatriotic imbecility of the administration at Washington at the time of its inception, nor yet of the traitorous sympathy with the enemy by the Opposition party, which, to the extent of its ability, brought "aid and comfort" to the enemy. The country will await with earnest expectation the advent of the second volume, with its even more stirring details. Altogether it is an admirable and a wonderful work.

Chosŏn, The Land of the Morning Calm. A Sketch of Korea. By PERCIVAL LOWELL, "Late Foreign Secretary and Councilor to the Korean Special Mission to the United States of America." Illustrated by Photographs by the Author. Imperial octavo, pp. 412. Boston: Ticknor & Co.

Ever since the farthest East has been made known by Western adventurers, whether travelers, or missionaries, or traders, the existence of Korea has also been known, and a place on our maps has been assigned to the peninsula that, extending southward from the extreme north-east angle of the continent of Asia, separates the Yellow Sea on the west, toward China, from the Sea of Japan, on the east. But in respect to every thing about that strange country, beyond its existence, the great world has, till very recently, been strangely willing to be ignorant. But at length the spell that has so long kept out of sight this "Hermit Nation" has been broken, and Korea has now its place in the family of nations. And yet even now our knowledge of the country is but limited. Its external situation is easily determined, and its outer margins have been somewhat examined, but of its interior geography and topography, its cities and its towns, its government and its people, and their institutions, civilization, and religion, comparatively little is known.

The volume above named is a contribution to our small fund of information on this subject, and its value is to be estimated rather relatively than absolutely. By virtue of his official relations its author enjoyed exceptional opportunities for gaining a knowledge of the country, which he seems to have turned to good account; and as the result, our acquaintance with that strange land is considerably increased. But still the things yet to be ascertained very largely exceed all that we know. The accounts given of the face of the country, its lands and mountains, and rivers and lakes—the results largely of personal observation, though very partial—are valuable. What is told us of the political institutions of the country is good as far as it goes, but that is not far. Some little light is cast upon the social and religious condition of the people in the chapters on "The Position of Woman" and on "The Want of a Religion" (for properly the Koreans have none, though they are greatly addicted to "Demon Worship"), and what is given us in these chapters sufficiently indicates the low level of their characters and lives. The population of the country, of Tartar origin, but individualized by long isolation, is estimated at twelve millions, which seems a very large number for the extent of its territory. Söul, the capital, over three miles square,

is supposed to have within its walls about a million and a quarter, and as many more live in the extra-mural suburbs.

This volume is most luxurious in its material make-up. Its binding and paper are really fine; its large type and double-leaded lines are attractive for weak eyes; the illustrations have the advantages and the disadvantages of photographs—correctness and stiffness. Altogether the work is a valuable contribution to our relatively meager store of knowledge of a hitherto unknown country.

Clark's Foreign Theological Library. New Series. Vols. XXII, XXIII. A History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ. By EMIL SCHÜRER, D.D., M.A., Professor at Giessen. Being a Second and Revised Edition of a "Manual of the History of New Testament Times" Second Division. The Internal Condition of Palestine and of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ. Translated by SOPHIA TAYLOR and Rev. PETER CHRISTIE. Two Volumes. Pp. 379, 327. New York: Scribner & Welford.

These volumes, as indicated in their titles, are a reproduction in part of a formerly published work by the same author. They are also the second part of that work, as far as they go, but a third volume is to be added, the first not having yet been issued. But though thus incomplete, and somewhat fragmentary, they give the various particulars taken in hand with all needful entireness; and the subjects discussed, as they all belong to the same time, have no certain order of temporal succession. The parts still wanting are promised for the near future.

The matters treated are precisely those with which readers of the New Testament are constantly brought into contact, and those without some knowledge of which, many things in that volume cannot possibly be understood. We have in the first place an account of the people and the state of their culture, population, language, the infusion of Hellenism, and the relation of the Jews to the heathenism of their times. Next, we have a geographical and topographical survey of the land, its Grecian and its strictly Jewish portion, with some account of the Sanhedrin and of the high-priests. After this comes an account of the priesthood and the temple worship; and lastly, the scribes and their functions. These occupy the first volume.

In the second volume we have accounts of the "Pharisees and Sadducees," the "School and Synagogue," "Life under the Law," "The Messianic Hope," "The Essenes," "The Dispersion," and "Proselytism." Respecting such a work it is sufficient to say, that it is scholarly—some may think that its array of authorities is formidable. But the text is plain and easy to be understood, and so arranged that while the learned have the authorities that are to be depended upon fully brought forward and discussed, those who read only the English will find the arguments fairly reproduced and the conclusions clearly stated, and all the statements brought within his condition. Those details of Jewish life and manners, the modes of thought prevalent among the people with whom the events of the New Testament transpired, and the setting of the whole story, are the needed and always available commentary upon the book

itself, without some acquaintance with which the reading must fail to lead to any clear conception of many important things in the Gospel.

A History of German Literature. By W. SCHERER. Translated from the Third German Edition, by Mrs. F. C. CONYBEARE. Edited by F. MAX MULLER, Two volumes. Crown 8vo, pp. 401, 425. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Nearly all formerly published histories of German literature are too voluminous for general readers, which fault this work avoids without falling into the opposite extreme of baldness and lack of the needed connection of the parts. It has been said that no less learning and much more painstaking discrimination are required to write a condensed history of a great subject than a fuller one, with larger details; and such it may be presumed has been the case in the preparation of these volumes. It is not unlike Green's "Shorter History of the English People" in its felicitous selection and arrangement of its matter, and especially in its omissions and its groupings of its chosen parts, so as every-where to preserve the continuous course of the story. It takes up the account at the earliest beginning of the history of the German race, and brings it down to the near past in an unbroken story. Just such a book has long been needed for the use of general readers; and the thanks of the public are due to all who have been engaged in its production.

Oceana; or, England and Her Colonies. By JAMES ANTHONY FROUDE. 8vo, pp. 396. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

The "Occana" of which Mr. Froude here writes is made up of all the lands, chiefly insular or littoral, upon which the English-speaking nationalities of our times have become domiciliated, and to which they have carried their home-learned ideas and habits, making, as Sir Charles Dilke would say, a "Greater Britain" outside the original British Islands. But the book here given us is, after the first chapter, a narration of a voyage around the world, beginning and ending in England, and chiefly passed in the Southern Hemisphere, and among "our sisters of the southern deep." It mingles in strange proximities the adventures and escapades and the petty vexations of the traveler with scientific annotations of natural objects and observations upon scenery, and profound philosophical discussions about the social and political affairs of the people. Mr. Froude's speculations may need to be carefully reviewed and verified before being adopted; but without so much painstaking one may enjoy the lively sketches of men and things, and the stories of travels and observations which make up the main part of the book. On his homeward journey Mr. Froude passed over the route from San Francisco to New York, and of what he saw he gives slight intimation in a chapter of less than twenty pages. The book is somewhat instructive as to the facts detailed and the principles suggested; it is interesting and amusing as a tale; and, because it is well written, it is decidedly agreeable reading.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The New King Arthur: An Opera Without Music. By the Author of "The Buntling Ball." Demi-quarto, pp. 165. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

If, as has been said by a high authority, we are living in "the twilight of poetry," that fact is not witnessed by any diminution of the quantity produced; for at scarcely any former time have new volumes of what purports to be poetry been poured into the trade in such abundance, of all forms and varieties, but evidently all destined to survive only for a brief day. "The New King Arthur," though not altogether outside of this class, is certainly a larger fish among minnows. It is artistic and sprightly, and not destitute of signs of cleverness—sarcastic and mirth-provoking by turns. The mystery that gathers about the authorship of "The Buntling Ball," and which now also covers that of "The New King Arthur," will not fail to add to the public interest in the poem.

How to be Happy though Married. Being a Handbook to Marriage. By a Graduate in the University of Matrimony. 12mo, pp. 285. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

In his "dedication" the author of this volume asserts by implication a great and pestilent untruth—to wit, that matrimony, while it is "a blessing to a few, is also a curse to many;" nor can we agree with him that it must or ought to be especially "a great uncertainty;" nor do we agree with him that to enter that state, however thoughtfully, requires any unusual amount of courage. But after this unpromising beginning, which seems to indicate a sad lack of appreciation in the writer of his subject, he proceeds to give some wholesome suggestions, as well as some not so good. The breeziness of the writer's spirit, and the excellence of his style and methods, render his book very readable.

A Digest of Methodist Law; or, Helps in the Administration of the Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church. By Bishop S. M. Merrill, D.D. 18mo, pp. 277. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe. New York: Phillips & Hunt.

Treatises on Methodist law and administration are becoming abundant; they are of widely different sizes, and also of degrees of merit. This one, within comparatively moderate limits, combines a practical exposition of the constitution—the make-up, or working orders—of the Church and a guide in "Judicial Administration." It is good and useful matter, but like the Apocrypha, as declared by the ancient Church, it is to be read for *instruction*, but it is not itself *law*.

The Homiletic Review. Edited by I. K. Funk, D.D. Vol. X, from July to December, 1885. 8vo, pp. 558. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

The monthly issues of the "Homiletic Review" have earned for it a reputation which no kindred publication can at all equal, and but few rival. The six numbers here bound in one volume make a rich collection of homiletical material, put up in an attractive form.

Vick's Illustrated Monthly for December 1885, closing the eighth annual volume of the publication, is of course a Christmas number, and though its date is not in the season of flowers, still the editor succeeds in making it radiant with blossoms, and brilliant with amusing and instructive reading matter of both prose and poetry. The January, 1886, number, with the name changed to the *Floral Guide*—volume ix, number 1—takes on larger proportions, extending to 112 pages, and is copiously illustrated with colored and uncolored engravings of flowers and plants, both ornamental and economical, interspersed through the descriptive letter-press matter, and other reading appropriate for its department. This number may be accepted as indicating the high-water mark of horticultural and floral literature, and it shows that while gardening and floriculture have become a science, their delineation has been raised to the status of a fine art.

Epochs of Ancient History: Spartan and Theban Supremacies. By CHARLES SANKEY, M.A., Joint Editor of the Series; Assistant Master in Marlborough College. With Five Maps. 18mo, pp. 231. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Epochs of Modern History: The Early Hanoverians. By EDWARD E. MORRIS, Professor in the English University of Melbourne. With Maps and Plans. 18mo, pp. 235. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

The plan of writing history by epochs, rather than continuously through a nation's life-time, has some obvious advantages: it individualizes the epoch, and renders the subject more easy to be grasped and retained in the memory. The periods selected in both of these books are especially well defined and segregated from both what precedes and what follows. They are well written, and the mechanical work is good; and they have to an eminent degree the advantage that is ascribed to books that may be held in the hand and carried to one's place of sitting.

The Greek Islands and Turkey after the War. By HENRY M. FIELD, D.D. 12mo, pp. 228. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Dr. Field appears to have traveled, not as most Americans do, to see as many places as possible in the least time, but leisurely, taking sufficient time to study the places through which he passed. Much in the same spirit he has written out the stories of his travels, of which we have "From the Lakes of Killarney to the Golden Horn," "From Egypt to Japan," "On the Desert," and "Among the Holy Hills;" and now that above-named, which certainly possesses some special excellences. It is gossipy, and yet full of valuable information, and especially abounding in lively and graphic sketches of persons and places, and in speculations on political and social affairs.

The Recreations of a Presiding Elder. By Rev. PAUL WHITEHEAD, D.D. 18mo, pp. 222. Nashville, Tenn.: Southern Methodist Publishing House.

A reprint of sketches first printed in the "Richmond Christian Advocate." They purport to be real narratives of facts, and are quaint and breezy.

Over the Sea, and What I Saw. A Monograph. By Rev. WILBUR L. DAVIDSON. Square 16mo, pp. 158. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe. New York: Phillips & Hunt. $1.

"Bits of description," says the author, "selected at random from the observations of a well-filled summer," chiefly in the British Islands and in Switzerland. Decidedly readable.

Hand-Book for Bible Classes. The Acts of the Apostles. With Introduction, Maps, and Notes. By THOMAS M. LINDSAY, D.D., Professor at Glasgow. Volume ii, chapters xiii–xxviii. 12mo, pp. 165. New York: Scribner & Welford.

Evangelical, scholarly, readable.

Sunrise on the Soul. A Series of Suggestions. By HUGH SMITH CARPENTER, D.D., Author of "Here and Beyond," etc. 12mo, pp. 329. New York: Funk & Wagnalls. $1 25.

A selection of choice thoughts made by a distinguished evangelical minister. Wholesome, and very full of comfort.

My Study, and Other Essays. By AUSTIN PHELPS, D.D., Professor Emeritus of Andover Theological Seminary. 12mo, pp. 319. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. $1 50.

In the leisure of a ripe old age, Professor Phelps quietly revises and edits his productions of other days, for the benefit of a later generation than that for which they were originally prepared; and they are worthy of the new lease of life thus given them.

Thirty Thousand Thoughts. Being Extracts Covering a Comprehensive Circle of Religious and Allied Topics, Gathered from the Best Available Sources, of all Ages and all Schools of Thought, with Suggestive and Seminal Headings; and Homiletical and Illuminative Framework: the Whole Arranged upon a Scientific Basis. With Classified and Thought-Multiplying Lists, Comparative Tables, and Elaborate Indices, Alphabetical, Topical, Textual, and Scriptural. Edited by the Rev. Canon H. D. M. SPENCE, M.A., Rev. JOSEPH EXELL, M.A., Rev. CHARLES NEIL, M.A. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

This is a common-place book only in its form, being made up of select passages from a multitude of authors. The matter, however, is of a very high order, and the selection has been made with a happy combination of wide reading and consummate taste and judgment, and the arrangement indicates a good share of editorial tact. The work, as a whole, constitutes a vast store-house—a perfect *thesaurus* of the best thoughts. The high reputation earned by the preceding volumes will be fully sustained by this one. The publishers are doing a good work for the readers of the best kind of literature.

The Mormon Problem. An Appeal to the American People. With an Appendix, containing Four Original Stories of Mormon Life, Founded upon Fact, and a Graphic and Thrilling Account of the Mountain Meadow Massacre. By Rev. C. P. LYFORD, Four Years Missionary in Utah, Author of "Tithing," etc. 12mo, pp. 323. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe. $1.

A book well worth the reading.

Under the Apple Trees. By SOPHIE WORTHINGTON. 12mo, pp. 320. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe. $1.

HARPER'S FRANKLIN SQUARE LIBRARY. (Latest Issues.)— *Mrs. Hollyer.* A Novel. By G. M. CRAIK. — *Babylon.* By CECIL POWER. — *My Wife's Niece.* — *White Heather.* By WILLIAM BLACK. — *The Unforeseen.* By ALICE O'HANLON. — *What's His Offense?* By the Author of "The Two Miss Flemings." — *The Mistletoe Bough, Christmas,* 1885. Edited by M. E. BRADDON. With an Illustration. — *Cradle and Spade.* By WILLIAM SIME. — *The Golden Flood.* By R. E. FRANCILLON and W. SENIOR. — "*Self or Bearer.*" By WALTER BESANT. —*First Person Singular.* A Novel. By DAVID CHRISTIE MURRAY. Illustrated. —*Unfairly Won.* By NANNIE POWER O'DONOGHUE. — *England under Gladstone,* 1880–1885. By JUSTIN H. M'CARTHY, M.P. — *Original Comic Operas.* By W. S. GILBERT — *A Country Gentleman.* By Mrs. OLIPHANT. — *War and Peace.* An Historical Novel. By Count LEON TOLSTOI.

HARPER'S HANDY SERIES. (Latest Issues.)—*The Royal Mail:* Its Curiosities and Romance. By JAMES WILSON HYDE. Illustrated. —*The Sacred Nugget.* By B. L. FARJEON. — *Primus in Indis.* By M. J. COLQUHOUN. — *Musical History.* By G. A. MACFARREN. — *In Quarters with the 25th (the Black Horse) Dragoons.* By J. S. WINTER. — *Goblin Gold.* By MAY CROMMELIN. — *The Wanderings of Ulysses.* By Prof. C. WITT. With Two Illustrations. — *A Barren Title.* — By T. W. SPEIGHT. — "*Us.*" By Mrs. MOLESWORTH. Illustrated. — *Ounces of Prevention.* By Dr. COAN. — *Half-Way.* An Anglo-French Romance. — *Christmas Angel.* By B. L. FARJEON. Illustrated. — *Mrs. Dymond.* By Miss THACKERAY. — *The Bachelor Vicar of Newforth.* By Mrs. J. HARCOURT-ROE. — *In the Middle Watch.* By W. CLARK RUSSELL. — *Tiresias, and Other Poems.* By ALFRED, LORD TENNYSON, D.C.L., P.L. — *Last Days at Apswich.* A Novel.— *Cabin and Gondola.* By CHARLOTTE DUNNING, Author of "Upon a Cast." — *Lester's Secret.* By MARY CECIL HAY. — *A Man of Honor.* A Novel. By J. S. WINTER.

UP-THE-LADDER CLUB SERIES: *The School in the Light-House.* By EDWARD A. RAND. 12mo, pp. 324. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe. $1 25.

How It All Came Round. By L. T. MEADE, Author of "Water Gipsies." With Illustrations by Robert Barnes. 12mo, pp. 362. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe. $1.

The Lost Silver of Briffault. By AMELIA A. BARR. 12mo, pp. 318. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe. $1 25.

Three story-books of the "regulation pattern" for modern Sunday-schools, fairly good of the kind.

The Sixth and Seventh Books of Thucydides. With an Introductory Essay, Explanatory Notes, and Indexes. By W. A. LAMBERTON, A.M., Professor of Greek in the Lehigh University, Bethlehem, Pa. 12mo, pp. 324. New York: Harper & Brothers.

"Harper's Classical Series for Schools and Colleges" comprises an unusually valuable selection of both Greek and Latin authors. Like all its predecessors in the series, this selection from Thucydides is in the highest degree of excellence.

Wakulla. A Story of Adventure in Florida. Illustrated. 16mo, pp. 255. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Stirring and amusing.

Andrews' Nutshells. A Woman's Triumph: A True Story of Western Life. 16mo, paper, pp. 86. Chicago: A. H. Andrews & Co.

The Garroters. A Farce. By W. D. HOWELLS. 24mo, pp 90. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Upland and Meadow. A Poaetquissings Chronicle. By CHARLES C. ABBOTT, M.D., Author of "A Naturalist's Rambles about Home," etc. 12mo, pp. 397. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Dr. Abbott and John Burrows are both disciples of Thoreau, in his own specialty (as men, in other relations, they are no doubt much his betters), for to them Nature seems to be teacher and genial friend. It has been well said that in the presence of Nature every one finds what he looks for, but that is only half the truth; for in that presence he whose eyes have been opened sees an entire world that others fail to detect. The book in hand is a record of such an apocalypse. The locality here indicated by an unpronounceable name, lies somewhere half-way up the Delaware, on the left—the eastern or the New Jersey—side, and an old writer described it as having "every thing that a man can desire;" and, though very great changes have taken place in the land and its inhabitants since that saying was written, it remains abundantly true, provided the man shall be such as evidently is Dr. Abbott. First he tells of its winter aspects, and next of the coming of the spring-time, and after this he introduces his readers in succession to marsh-wrens, and grackles, and redbirds, and the "spade-foot toad," and red-throats among the trumpet creepers, and then to a seine-fishing scene. After these his readers are treated to a succession of prose idyls on "A Summer at Home," "September Sunshine," and "An October Day," all very pleasant reading to any whose eyes have been opened.

Sermons in Songs. By CHARLES S. ROBINSON, D.D., Pastor of Memorial Church. 12mo, pp. 322. New York: Funk & Wagnalls. $1 25

In a brief "Prefatory Note" the author informs his readers: "The title of this volume was suggested by the fact that the texts were chosen from the 'Psalms, Hymns, and Spiritual Songs' of the Old and New Testaments;" also that "the sermons were prepared along the course of the author's ministrations during a period of years." They are decidedly good.

The Great Poets as Religious Teachers. By JOHN H. MORRISON. 18mo, pp. 200. New York: Harper & Brothers.

The "Great Poets" here discussed are Dante, Shakespeare, and Goethe, with the "Old Testament Writers," and the "Ideal Teaching of Jesus." It is learned, thoughtful, and suggestive. And while not indisposed to acknowledge the claims set up for them, the study of them suggests the paleness of their stellar rays in comparison with the more than solar clearness of the lessons of Him who spoke as never any other has done.

What Does History Teach? By JOHN STUART BLACKIE. 18mo, pp. 123. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Two lectures devoted severally to "The State" and "The Church," prepared for the Philosophical Institution of Edinburgh, and delivered December 18 and 25, 1885. That they are able, and at once liberal and conservative, the name of the author is a sufficient guarantee.

SOME PAMPHLETS:

Auguste Comte and the Middle Ages. A Lecture given before a Private Circle in the City of Pozsony (Presburg), on Saturday 24, Guttemberg 97, (Sept 3, 1883.) By HENRY EDGER, Naturalized Citizen (English-born) of the United States of America. 12mo, pp. 115. Sold by Dr. P. J. Popoff, 1048 Atlantic Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.

The Church. By E. W. HERNDON, Editor "Christian Quarterly Review." 12mo, pp. 112. Columbia, Missouri. Price, 20 cents.

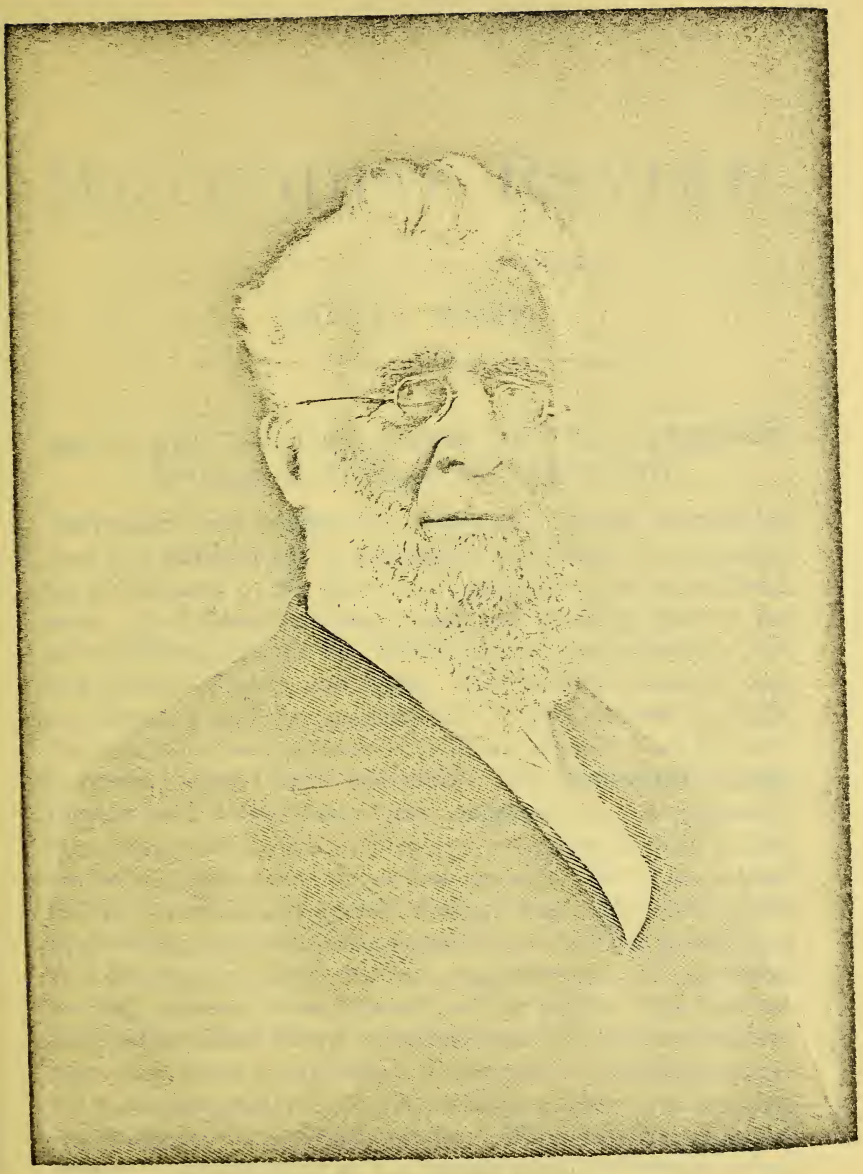
INAUGURAL ADDRESSES: *The Hebrew Revelation.* By MILTON S. TERRY, D.D. Old Testament Exegesis. — *The Greek Testament and the Methodist Ministry.* By CHARLES F. BRADLEY, B.D. New Testament Exegesis. — *Christian Union.* By CHARLES W. BENNETT, D.D. Historical Theology. Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Ill., May, 1885.

The Case of the Negroes as to Education in the Southern States. A Report to the Board of Trustees. By ATTICUS G. HAYGOOD, General Agent of the "John F. Slater Fund." 8vo, pp. 59.

Total Abstinence is not Scriptural Temperance. 12mo, pp. 44. New York: Richard Brinkerhoff.

Death of Adam, and of Non-Intelligent Animals. Considered in Relation to the So-called Problem of Moral Evil, and the Work of Christ, the Second Adam. By J. P. PHILPOTT, Author of "The Kingdom of Israel," etc. 18mo, pp. 136. Nashville, Tenn.: Southern Methodist Publishing House.

Proceedings of the Twenty-eighth Annual Meeting of the National Association of Local Preachers of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Brooklyn, N. Y., September 26–29, 1885. 8vo, pp. 54.



Yours Truly

R. S. Rust.

METHODIST REVIEW.

MAY, 1886.

ART. I.—EDUCATIONAL WORK OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN THE SOUTH.

PROVIDENCE has brought our nation at this time, as never before, to a situation where the greatest problems to be solved by the Church and by the State are bound up in the educational work. And these problems, which are pressing upon us for early solution, will tax the utmost wisdom and patience of the best men in Church and State. It is needful, therefore, that the Church should be awakened to a livelier interest in *Christian education* as connected with all our schools, from the public primary to the Church university. The Methodist Episcopal Church has a large share of this responsibility. It is gratifying to note that her school property more than doubled during the last eighteen years of her first century. But there is need that all our schools be greatly strengthened. Especially is this need felt by the institutions under the care of the Freedmen's Aid Society, in which we have one fifteenth of our school property and over three fifteenths of our pupils. The fourteen hundred thousand dollars bestowed upon this field in seventeen years is a noble contribution to the cause of education where the needs are greatest, and yet, looking at the schools among the freedmen, we may well exclaim, "What are these among so many?" And looking at the membership and wealth of all the Church we ask, "What are these *from* so many?" This work, so far from being completed, or to be continued with smaller contributions, needs a large increase of funds. Since the money must come chiefly from our Societies in the North,

it is important that they especially be led to see the needs of this field. Dr. A. G. Haygood in the "Christian Advocate" (Nashville) says:

It may be questioned whether the Southern white people, as a class, have studied the case of the "Negro at school." If one interested in the Christian education of the Negro were to ask me the one best thing Southern white people can do to advance this cause, I should unhesitatingly answer, "Let them, by personal investigation, find out the facts in the case."

The same paper has the following as editorial:

We may without presumption infer that God has a purpose in view in placing the responsibility of the Negro question upon this Christian republic. That purpose is to educate us, as a people, to meet the vast and solemn responsibilities that attach to this nation as the leading republic of the world. If we possess the ability to manage this question, we will be able to manage all others that will come up in our future history. The eyes of the world are on us. It will be conceded by all rational persons, that, in dealing successfully with the Negro question, the united wisdom of the whole country will be taxed to the utmost. It should not, therefore, be treated as merely a sectional question.

These are significant utterances of Southern men who know the situation. The cause of Christian education in the South has a strong claim upon the attention and benevolence of Christians in the North. But of late there have gone abroad from the pulpit and the press utterances of other men, which have a tendency to lead the people in the North to suppose, that no further attention or help is needed from them in this work. Most of the Southern States have now made the *pro rata* distribution of funds for colored schools equal to that given to the whites. This fact gives color to the opinion that the South will attend to this work alone. As a sample of utterances calculated to show that the whole question has been happily solved, and needs no more attention from Northern people, the following excerpt is given from a Christmas sermon by Dr. Talmage, as reported in the "Cincinnati Enquirer:"

I have observed that the colored man is better treated at the South than at the North. The day I spent in Montgomery the Legislature passed a law for the full and thorough education of the colored people.

He did not tell what the law is; but, if it really does what he says, it makes better provision for the colored people than Alabama or any Southern State makes for the white people. He further says:

> The feeling of the white people toward the colored is more kindly and Christian than with us. Knowing well the feeling toward the colored people in this section and in that, I am persuaded that the race will get justice done them sooner in the South than in the North. We cannot teach the South how better to treat the black man until we treat him better ourselves.

Indeed! and should the Methodist Episcopal Church turn away from her work among the freedmen in the South because a first-class hotel in New York city refused to entertain two colored members of the Missionary Committee, last November?—a fact which he might have given with more pertinence, to set in contrast over against the courtesy of Gov. Colquitt to a colored preacher, than the imaginary pictures he drew with his rare skill. The whole tenor of his remarks gives a highly colored view of the situation of the Negro in the South, and the hardships he endures in the North. As if, forsooth, the race problem is to be determined by the treatment of the colored man where he constitutes from one to five per cent. of the population! Dr. Talmage omitted to state that colored students are admitted with the whites in some of the largest colleges in the North. He fortifies his swift conclusions by showing what rare opportunities he had enjoyed for studying this problem. He had recently "traveled five thousand miles up and down through the States." Doubtless he gave a correct picture of what he saw. Other *visitors* have comprehended the whole situation to their *own* satisfaction in as short time. If he had joined himself to other citizens of that country, perhaps, he would have seen some other things.

Now it is to be observed that no complaint is to be made against those who look upon the bright side of things, and rejoice at the increasing good-will and helpfulness of Southern white people for the Negro. It is the use that is made of such facts that is objectionable. When these are so presented as to make it appear that those who see great wrongs yet to be righted, and great ignorance yet to be removed, and who publish such facts as an appeal for help are made to appear as

meanly spying out evils for the sake of reproaching the South, and so to be held as enemies, a wrong of no ordinary magnitude is done to a large number of Christian workers. That these facts have been so used, and that, especially of late, it has been accounted an "unfraternal" thing to publish facts showing the great needs in this field, no one who walks with open eyes will deny. Here is a point of great delicacy and danger. Truth that ought to be uttered is repressed; and a knowledge that would bring relief is withheld from the fear that its utterers may be called disturbers of the peace.

Believing that the evils are rather the misfortune than the fault of the people of this generation, and desirous of calling attention to them only that increased help may be secured for this good cause, we present what follows in no captious or fault-finding spirit, but with the hearty approval of the sentiment uttered by President Cleveland in his inaugural address touching the freedmen:

> All discussion as to their fitness for the place accorded them as American citizens is idle and unprofitable, except as it suggests the necessity for improvement.

A general view of the situation will show that the common school in the South has some special disadvantages. Seven tenths of the population are in rural districts. Counting from villages with less than a hundred inhabitants, in the North the country population is about thirty per cent. of the whole.

The division which makes separate schools for white and colored children diminishes both the economy and efficiency of the country schools. There is a sentiment opposed to local taxation to supplement the State funds, and a preference for private schools for children whose parents are able to pay for instruction. In States where the law gives "local option," as in Kentucky, some cities and towns have provided excellent free schools. But in the majority of smaller towns, and in nearly all the rural districts, the State fund is the only provision, and five months the longest time of free school.

In North Carolina the constitutional limit is $12\frac{1}{2}$ cents on $100 of taxable property, and $37\frac{1}{2}$ cents per capita poll-tax. This gives a little more than one dollar per child of school age. The average length of term is twelve and a half weeks in a

year. Average salary for white teachers, $24 per month, and for colored, $19. With such inadequate provision the results have led many to believe any public school system a failure. It is hardly to be expected that the tax rate for schools will be soon raised by a change of constitution, for their taxes are now higher than in Massachusetts. Moreover, they are hoping to get help from Congress. It must be admitted that here an earnest effort has been made to establish schools, and, by the help of the Peabody Fund, some good has been achieved. Funds from the national treasury offer the only adequate relief for all this region. But where it is needed most there are many who think Congress has no power to give relief. A larger number who believe it can and should be given, are yet opposed to any kind of direction by Congress as to the manner of using such moneys. Their idea of States' rights excludes any interference by Congress with schools such as the agents of the Peabody Fund exercise where they give assistance. On the other hand, an objection to any appropriation to the States, to be controlled by them, is found in the fact that there would be no uniformity of method in applying the funds, nor satisfaction in the results attained.

Some States have strange legislation on school matters. Bishop McTyeire ("Christian Advocate," Nashville, Feb. 7) deplores the bad effect of the State University of South Carolina upon Wofford College, since tuition is made free in the former by State appropriation; and speaking of this kind of legislation elsewhere, he says:

> As things are drifting, every Church College in South Carolina, Virginia, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Texas must sooner or later go to the wall. Methodist or Baptist people cannot compete with themselves as citizens.

And again, he says:

> It is too serious for a farce, though one can hardly help smiling at the preposterous absurdity of offering free university tuition, when free common schools can hardly run four months in the year. Of the over six million illiterates who disgrace and threaten our country, a very large portion of them are in those Southern States that are inviting their citizens to free university education!

In Kentucky there had been a law providing that three eighths of all funds that should be received from Congress for

educational purposes should be given to the colored schools until the amount *per capita* for them should equal that received by white children; but by an act approved in March, 1878, this was made void, and all such funds were given to a State university. The superintendent of public instruction characterized this act as a "DISMANTLING OF COLORED SCHOOLS—HUGE ENDOWMENT OF A STATE UNIVERSITY AT THEIR EXPENSE." (The capitals are his. Report, 1879.)

In view of such facts it will be found difficult, if not entirely impracticable, to relieve the common schools from embarrassments by Congressional appropriation.

Now let us turn to the schools founded by private enterprise. Professor C. F. Smith, of Vanderbilt University, gives the following exhibit in the "Atlantic Monthly:"

SOUTHERN COLLEGES AND SCHOOLS.

In 1880 Tennessee had 21 male colleges and universities, and 16 female colleges and seminaries, 10 of which latter confer college degrees; but there were only 2 distinct preparatory schools —though at least 19 colleges had preparatory departments—63 secondary schools and 4 public high-schools. It would be safe to assume that not more than one third of the 63 secondary schools could fit a boy for a good college. In Massachusetts, in 1880, there were 7 male colleges and universities, and 2 female; but there were 23 preparatory schools, a large number of which would anywhere in the South or West be called colleges, and 215 public high-schools (now 226), with 494 teachers and 18,758 pupils. besides 46 other schools for secondary instruction.

The income of 16 New England colleges in 1881 was $1,024,563, and they had 720,178 volumes in their libraries; all the 123 Southern colleges and universities had together an income of $1,089,187, and 668,667 volumes. Of the 123 Southern colleges and universities 69 had each property in grounds, buildings, etc., valued at not more than $50,000; of the 69 there were 35 with not more than $25,000, and 14 with not more than $10,000. Of the 69 only 5 report productive funds valued at $50,000; 5 more report $25,000; the remainder report less, or none—mostly none. In New England, in 1881, not a college reported property valued at less than $100,000, and only 2 productive funds below $150,000. The 43 New England preparatory schools reported in 1881 nearly twice as much property and productive funds as the 69 weakest Southern colleges; and indeed 4 of these preparatory schools had as much productive funds as the 69 Southern colleges.

Of the 125 regular preparatory schools in the United States in 1880, there were in New England, 46; in the six Middle Atlantic States, 46; in the Southern States, 6; in the remaining (Western

and Pacific States), 27. "Forty-four per cent. of the property, 84 per cent. of the productive funds, and 63 per cent. of the income from productive funds represented in the list of preparatory schools, are from New England."

This shows the difference between the schools North and South.

This lack of endowment, and the consequently higher rates of tuition in the South, may, in part, account for the fact which Prof. Smith deplores in the same article, namely, that almost 50 per cent. of the students in any given year fail to return the next in Vanderbilt University, Wofford College, and other leading institutions; which fact the professor attributes to the "school system" as against the old "curriculum." It is certain that the provision, in Northern colleges, which makes tuition low or practically free to those who need it, does draw and retain many young men who could not otherwise enjoy these advantages The great need in the South is, therefore, more endowment for her Church institutions of learning. State schools are secular and unsatisfactory every-where.

Whatever lack, then, is in the provision for Christian education in schools of all grades for the whites in the South, the colored people have much greater destitution. Our Freedmen's Aid Society sustains the 20 colleges and high-schools it has planted for them by annual collections equal to the income on $2,000,000, besides the moneys raised from the Church for white schools. A consideration of their case will show cause for greatly increased contributions to this society. There are 1,046,000 colored Methodists, distributed as follows:

African Methodist Episcopal	391,000
African Methodist Episcopal Zion	300,000
Colored Methodist Episcopal Church in America	155,000
Methodist Episcopal Church	200,000

What is being done for higher education among these Methodists? It is, doubtless, within bounds to say that our Church is doing four times as much in this line for her 200,000 members as all other Churches are doing for their 846,000 members. Let us see what the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, is doing for the 155,000 colored members in the Church she set up and which she claims to be the object of her special care. Dr. Haygood, in his book, "Our Brother in Black" (pages 233–235), says his Church "recognized the instinct for separation, and in

1870 erected their colored members into a separate ecclesiastical organization." And touching the policy of the Methodist Episcopal Church in retaining colored members, he says:

It is a very grave question for all who have responsibility in the matter, whether over-repression of race instincts may not mar their normal evolution—may not introduce elements unfriendly to healthful growth—may not result in explosions.

He also says:

If there were not one Negro in the Methodist Episcopal Church, the Freedmen's Aid Society would be as much needed as it is now. The Colored Methodist Episcopal Church in America that was "set up"—I hope not "set off"—needs the help of its mother, the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, every whit as much as if they were still with us; nay, all the more because they are not with us. And we ought before God to help them. If any think that setting them up, or off, was only getting rid of a burden, let them repent of this evil thought, for evil it is as sure as the stars shine.

The following is appended in a foot-note:

The next General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, should take vigorous action to establish a great "training-school" for this colored daughter. If God spares his life, Dr. John B. McFerrin is the man to take this thing in hand and put it through.

This was in 1880. Five years before that Dr. McFerrin, then Missionary Secretary, said, at Round Lake, N. Y.:

Before the war we were devoting a great part of the missionary money to these dear people. At the close of the war these churches were broken up; but those that remained together formed themselves into a Church, and a Bishop, who is here today, was elected and ordained by our Bishops. Since that time we have been enlarging our missionary work in other directions.

When he sat down Bishop Miles rose up, and said: "In the course of human events, and not by our own election, we are a distinct ecclesiastical organization." A month later, in his own Church paper, the Bishop complains that no help can be obtained from Southern Churches to build his people a college, and declares his intention of going North to solicit funds. But the "vigorous action" desired by Dr. Haygood was secured. Here is an excerpt from our "Centennial Year-Book," p. 225:

The General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, at its session in 1882, resolved upon taking steps for the

education of teachers and preachers of the colored people for the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church in America, and directed the appointment of a Commissioner of Education to raise and receive funds for that purpose; they also provided to organize a board of trustees, a majority of whom should be whites, to use said funds for the end intended. Under this authority, Rev. J. E. Evans, D.D., of the North Georgia Conference, was appointed said Commissioner; and the following board of trustees was also appointed and organized according to law, namely: Rev. J. E. Evans, president of the board; Rev. W. H. La Prade, treasurer; Bishop G. F. Pierce, Rev. Morgan Calloway, Rev. J. W. Hinton, Rev. W. A. Candler, and Mr. C. G. Goodrich, of Georgia; Hon. L. Q. C. Lamar and Rev. R. G. Porter, Mississippi; Hon. Fleming Law, Alabama; Hon. R. H. Pollard, Virginia; Rev. W. W. Duncan, South Carolina; Col. Robert Vance, North Carolina; Rev. J. B. McFerrin, Tennessee; Rev. D. Morton, Kentucky; Rev. E. R. Hendrix, Missouri; Rev. S. H. Babcock, Arkansas; Rev. I. G. John, Texas—all of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.

Of the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church in America: Bishop L. H. Holsey, R. A. Maxey, J. S. Harper, secretary of the board, and Rev. G. W. Usher, of Georgia; Rev. W. T. Thomas, Washington City; Rev. J. R. Daniel, Tennessee; Rev. J. H. Anderson, Mississippi; and Rev. J. F. Jamison, Texas.

The board has selected Augusta, Ga., as the location of the parent institute, to be called "The Paine Institute," in honor of the late senior Bishop, and his interest in the Christian education of the colored people. Rev. Morgan Calloway, D.D., vice-president of Emory College, Ga., has been elected to, and has accepted, the presidency of the institute. Other first-class white teachers, male and female, are ready to enter upon duty at the earliest day possible.

The above would quite naturally lead any Northern man to believe that the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, has taken hold upon this work with such zeal that the Methodists in the North are relieved from a large measure of their solicitude and contributions for the education of the colored man. What has come of it? Three years have passed since the Conference action, and to-day Paine Institute has in real estate and buildings—NOTHING. It owns two or three hundred dollars' worth of school furniture. At the opening of the spring term, January 1, there were seventy pupils in attendance. One of the trustees said, in a letter to the writer, last December, if they had money to provide suitable buildings and grounds he doubted not that they would have five hundred pupils by next autumn. Rev. W. C. Dunlap, agent for the institute, said that

up to February 28 there had been reported to him a little less than one hundred dollars as a specific centenary offering to this enterprise. In the "Central Methodist" of the same date Bishop McTyeire has the following:

> Of the $1,200,000 thus far reported on *centenary thank-offerings*, over $250,000 has been directed by the donors, as was their privilege, to *education*. This cause is worthy of all that has been dedicated to it.

He further states, that it is estimated that three fourths of all the offerings were given for new and improved churches and parsonages; from which it appears that five sixths of all *connectional* centennial gifts were for education. And this shows that these Methodists are awake to the cause, and are not without money to promote Christian education among the whites. It is equally plain that they are not, as a Church, yet disposed to give the colored man higher education. A correspondent in the "Christian Observer," March 11 (Louisville, Ky.), has the following paragraph concerning the high-school work among the Negroes by the Southern Presbyterian Church:

> In 1883 the churches contributed $2,724, and in 1884, $3,573—a total, for the two years, of $6,297. And yet, small as is this amount, the committee report a balance in the treasury of $2,217; that is, they have received $2,217 *more than they could use in the work—so small is that work!*

Italics are his. This Church gives $70,000 per year to foreign missions.

We should be stimulated to increased contributions for this work, both by the lack of help from Southern Churches, and by the zeal of the Congregational Church, which far surpasses our own. They report last year 9,758 students—34 of them theological, and 55 law students; and $200,000 put into school property in two years.

It cannot be out of place here to inquire *why* the Southern Churches do not engage in this work; and *why* those who are engaged in it have not been well received. That there is a sentiment strongly opposed to the higher education of the Negro will appear in the following utterances of representative Southern men. The "Atlanta Constitution" published a report, several columns in length, from a correspondent who interviewed the

late Bishop Pierce, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, on the occasion of his golden wedding, February 3, 1884. The occasion was one that attracted much attention, and it was known that his sayings would be widely published. The remarks upon the Negro question were of sufficient gravity to demand prompt correction, if there had been any misrepresentation in the report. The circumstances lifted the correspondent entirely out of the region of the "impertinent interviewer." Here it is:

The Negroes are entitled to elementary education, the same as the whites, from the hands of the State. It is the duty of the Church to improve the colored ministry, but rather by theological training than by literary education. In my judgment higher education, so-called, would be a positive calamity to the Negroes. It would increase the friction between the races, produce endless strifes, elevate Negro aspirations far above the station he was created to fill, and resolve the whole race into a political faction, full of strife, mischief, and turbulence. Negroes ought to be taught that the respect of the white race can only be attained by good character and conduct. Their well-doing and well-being all right-minded citizens desire, and would rejoice in. Agriculture and all the mechanical pursuits are open to them, and in them they might find lucrative employment. In these directions they may support their families, get property, and become valuable citizens. If Negroes were educated, intermarriage in time would breed trouble, but of this I see no tendency now. My conviction is, that Negroes have no right on juries, in legislatures, or in public office. Right involves character and qualification. The appointment of any colored man to office by the government is an insult to the Southern people, and provokes conflict and dissatisfaction; when, if left as they ought to be, in their natural sphere, there would be quiet and good order. The whites can never tamely and without protest submit to the intrusion of colored men into places of trust and profit and responsibility. There never can be stability and good order except when intelligence and virtue preside and direct the affairs of the country. The Negro ought to be protected in all his rights of person and property by the righteous administration of the laws. He is entitled to respect and kind consideration in all his pursuits and wants, while he himself is upright and industrious and well-behaved.

These are grave words. The Methodist Episcopal Church maintains twenty schools in the South for the higher education of the freedmen; and this, we are told, will produce endless strife, and raise the aspirations of the Negro above the station God created him to fill. This would not only make our Church

responsible for the terrible conflicts between the races in the South, but we should be found fighting against God, in any and all attempts to give the African higher education, thus fitting him for "strife," "mischief," and "turbulence." The above is the frank utterance of a deep-seated conviction, not of one man only, but of the leaders of public sentiment at the South. Southern men who have uttered any thing not in harmony with the above are few. Dr. Haygood has been heard in all the land, and more recently Mr. G. W. Cable has spoken with emphasis in the "Century." The latter says there are many who are coming to believe, with him, that the oppression of the Negro should stop, but they hold their peace. But there is, and has been all the while, the sound of many voices in the air. John T. Morgan, in the "North American Review," July, 1884, is eloquent in his description of the capacity of the Negro for improvement, physically; but he denies that he has capacity for mental development. Hear him:

> For fifteen years every means that Congress could devise has been supplied to the Negro race to enable them to attain a position which will protect them in all the rights, liberties, and privileges enjoyed by the whites—the ballot, the Freedmen's Bureau, the Freedmen's Bank, the civil rights statutes, and all the power of tyrannical courts to enforce their alleged rights; and still they are no stronger as a race, and probably no better as individuals, than they were at the beginning of these efforts. The latest expedient of Congress is the giving $10,000,000 a year to educate the children of six million Negroes. We shall probably try the expedient and fail in the States, as we have failed in the District of Columbia, where the abolition of Negro suffrage has been decreed by Congress. After two or three hundred million of dollars have been expended in the efforts to educate the Negro into the knowledge of the proper use of political power, and to teach him to forget his race prejudices and vices, the same party which claims to have emancipated him will become the most active in his disfranchisement. All that has been done by Congress to elevate the Negro race in the States has been to wage a conflict with the whites upon a question of caste. The Free States of the Congo open to the American Negro the first real opportunity to prove himself worthy of the liberties and civilization with which he has been endowed.

In the same Review, November, 1884, Prof. E. W. Gilliam, speaking of the efforts to elevate the freedmen, says:

> The final result must be race antagonisms, growing in intensity and menacing malignant evils. One race must be above, the other below, with a struggle for position. Equality is impossible. The African must return or be returned to Africa.

He admits that the Negro in America presents a momentous problem for solution. In the Southern Methodist "Quarterly Review," January, 1885, Professor Woodward replies to Mr. Cable's article in the "Century." The editor of the Review adds some "Observations," in which occurs this statement:

> The Negro cannot retain his usual low status except in dependence upon the white. Deny him this parasitic alliance, and he moves at once toward barbarism.

There can be no mistaking the position of these men. Their language is plain. Such men must oppose the work of our schools in the South. Herein is the *conflict of educational ideas.* It is not a little remarkable that these men consider the twenty years of experiment sufficient to have demonstrated the *incapacity* of the colored man for a high state of civilization—demonstrated it to the people of the North, I mean. Southern men needed no proof: they *knew* his natural inferiority, and it only remained for them to say, "I told you so." But what swift judgment is this? After centuries of heathenism, and only such contact with Christian civilization as two hundred years of slavery afforded him, to suppose the Negro should have become master of the situation so soon, would be to expect him to attain in fifteen or twenty years what the Anglo-Saxon race required centuries to achieve. Frederick Douglass says:

> An abnormal condition born of war carried him to an altitude unsuited to his attainments. He could not sustain himself there. He will now rise naturally, gradually, and will hold on to what he gets, and will not drop from dizziness.

It did not require his failures in Congress and in legislatures, in the judiciary and the executive chair, to prove that slavery had not qualified him for these responsible positions. It remains to be proved that *Christian education* will fit him for the highest civilization. For the solution of this problem there must be given *time* and *opportunity.* It is not to be expected that those who have a settled conviction of the Negro's natural inferiority will furnish him the opportunity,

or be patient with those who persist in educating him. Some degree of hardness enters into this from the fact that many of those who have engaged in this work are from the North, and have only known the Negro at a distance, or upon short acquaintance; and for these to claim to have a better knowledge of his capacity than the people who have been so long and intimately acquainted with the Negro, looks like presumption. Nevertheless it is true, that white teachers in these schools have been excluded from white society *solely for their work's sake.*

It may be said that Southern States have provided schools for colored children. And it may be also said that this provision does not necessarily conflict with the hitherto thus-far-shalt-thou-come-and-no-farther policy which draws the line of education for the colored man on the hither side of the legislature, court-house, jury, and ballot box. The colleges planted by our Church in the South are operated upon the idea that there is no such natural inferiority, and should be no such limitation. They are in harmony with the truth uttered by Paul among the learned Grecians on Mars' Hill, and which finds expression in the preamble to the Declaration of Independence, "All men are created equal." It is true that our Church has established some separate schools for the whites. But the separation is voluntary. Our Freedmen's Aid Society is in conflict with that *sentiment* toward the colored man which permitted a Bishop of a Methodist Church to be forcibly ejected from a railroad train because he refused to leave a first-class car—a *sentiment* that made it possible for the Legislature of Kentucky to permit the colored women in the State penitentiary to be compelled to wear men's clothing for many years—a practice recently abolished—and to hear a report, at every session from 1873 to 1879, from its own committees setting forth the fact that the crowded condition of the penitentiary, which compelled two persons to occupy one cell, had caused disease and death, and during these years made no provision for relief. The reports did not state that the persons so crowded in the cells were colored, but every legislator knew such to be the fact. When the relief came it was by a system of leasing out public convicts, that may result in evils equal to those of a crowded penitentiary.

The condition of the freedmen when they were given the responsibilities of citizenship, was in itself an appeal for immediate help more urgent and pathetic than the Church had ever heard before that day: four millions of people, ignorant, superstitious, immoral, emerging from a bondage that had put them under legal prohibition of intelligence. They had no just conception of the sanctity of the marriage bond or the purity of a Christian home. With the first lesson to learn in matters of self-government, the duties of citizenship were suddenly thrust upon them. Great was the need of help. We have seen the meager response. Judge Tourgée, in his "Appeal unto Cæsar," has shown the utter inadequacy of the means employed by government.

The Churches in the South did put forth some efforts, during the Negro's servitude, to make him a Christian, and not without success. Many accepted the word of God when they were not permitted to read it. The strange thing is, that when freedom so greatly enlarged the opportunity of the Southern Church to teach the colored man she set him off, and "enlarged her missionary work in other directions." The appeal for help comes to us with great force from the consideration of the fact that so many of the colored people are Methodists, and that so little is done by other branches of this Church, and from the fact that all the schools now provided for them are crowded with pupils.

It is well that our Church has schools for the whites in the South, not only for the sake of the whites, but also because these will promote the work among the colored people just in the proportion that they are strengthened. From the Southern stand-point there does not appear to be any need of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the South. No advice has been more earnest or abundant to our colored members for ten years, than that they should withdraw from our Church. Even Dr. Haygood thinks we could do just as much for our colored brother if he were set off into a separate Church. But such a policy would cut off all our work in this field. The work among the white and colored people will stand or fall together. We have about 200,000 white members in the South who do not look upon this work from a Southern stand-point. These would indorse the sentiment in the following paragraph

from Bishop McTyeire, in a letter to the editor of the "Texas Advocate:"

> Connectional Methodism is a fact of worth and power; beware of a provincial or local article. I love Methodism in Alabama; but save me from Alabama Methodism, from Tennessee Methodism, from Georgia Methodism. Methodism in Texas has a great outlook; but see ye to it that there shall never be a *Texas Methodism.*

Only we would enlarge it so as to have no Southern Methodism. This educational question is broader than any section—yea, broader than this nation. Mankind will be affected for weal or woe as the people of these United States succeed or fail in realizing the *ideal Christian civilization.*

Upon this broad question the Christian Church must measure her strength. Education alone will not secure permanent good to the colored man or the white man. There was higher education in Egypt when Moses was there. Learning was not unknown in Babylon when Daniel, the learned Jew, studied three years with her masters. Art, poetry, and philosophy had reached their highest degree in Athens before Paul stood on Mars' Hill. And there was high civilization in Rome when the Cæsars ruled the world. What is the lesson to us from these dead empires? What was their fatal defect? The answer is plain. They exalted the few by oppressing the many. Their noblest monuments tell of *manhood's* degradation. Egyptian pyramids, Babylonian walls and hanging gardens, and Grecian temples could be built only where man's brawn and muscle were rated like the ox or the ass. But in the days of these kings there fell a prophecy from heaven: "I will make a man more precious than fine gold, even a man than the golden wedge of Ophir." The patent of man's nobility is from the King of kings. God says, "I will make;" and from the time the throne of Egypt crumbled to dust until the scepter fell from the hand of the third Napoleon, every notable revolution on the earth has contributed to the elevation of *manhood.* The question now coming to the front in every enlightened government is, *the welfare of all the people;* a question that was ignored in Solomon's kingdom, but was forced upon Rehoboam. The same question is disturbing Europe and America to-day. There is *a man in it,* seeking recognition. And he will get

it. Governments or measures or men that are opposed will be swept away. We can build athwart a running stream; but the backward flow is the gathering of a power to overleap our barriers. So man has been often checked for a time; but the marks along the centuries plainly show that he is *rising* toward his high "calling."

Popular education has made great advances during the past fifty years, both in this country and in Europe. But popular education will not secure the stability of governments. With illiteracy all banished, we may reach a civilization no better than that of ancient Greece. To make the masses of the people intelligent without teaching a sound morality, is to cure but the lesser one of two evils which clung to the old civilizations till they were dead. There is food for reflection in the following facts: Cincinnati was the first city in this country to exclude the Bible from the public schools. Teachers who speak contemptuously of Churches and Sunday-schools in the presence of the classes are not excluded. An immoral French illustrated paper was found in her public library last summer. At the operatic festival, in 1884, in her great Music Hall, ballet dancers were introduced in such costume—or rather lack of costume—as was never displayed until recently, except in the disreputable play-houses "over the Rhine." Life-size pictures—show-bills—displayed upon walls that, in book or paper, would be unlawful to send through United States mails. Shops, theaters, and saloons all open on Sabbath. But this is the only city that has earned the name "Sodom of America."

Let us glance at the whole country. Statistics, that appear to be correct, tell us that of every ten thousand deaths in England *seven* die by violence. In France and Ireland it is *eight.* In the United States the number is *twenty-one!*—only equaled in Italy and Spain, most illiterate of Christian nations. But, thank God! the public schools are not wholly given over into the hands of ungodly men. Nor are Christian teachers in the minority. Look at the break-water that the Methodist Episcopal Church is building against this surging iniquity—159 institutions, 1,200 teachers, and 27,000 pupils. But these are not sufficient for the work. Great enlargement in every part of our educational field is needed. The Church *must* educate. If she does not keep the school from the destroyer popular government will

be a failure. Encouragement for increased effort is found in the past success. In the South the results have been phenomenal. While those who have no faith in it have seen only "failure," we have seen marvelous success. The unfriendly look upon bad specimens only. "Ex-Governor Moses, a native of South Carolina, who was last seen on his way to prison for stealing," is a stereotyped sentence in Southern papers. Drawing their conclusions from such conspicuous failures they condemn the race—though Moses is a white man and a Southerner. We look at the thousands of Christian teachers and preachers who have gone out from our schools to labor among the colored people, and the thousands who sit down to-day in their own homes—Christian homes—who did not own their own bodies twenty-five years ago, and we call it success. It is only a very small percentage of any people who can be graduated from college. Our higher institutions are training leaders for the colored people.

Sixteen years ago a little company of colored preachers were in the Kentucky Conference. At the session in Harrodsburg they took little part in the business. Seven years later, in their own Conference (the Lexington) at Maysville, the writer saw them doing all the business of an Annual Conference, their number increased by increase of territory. Many of them were still uneducated; but young men on trial who neglected to study were "discontinued." Leaders were beginning to appear in the front. Eight years more, and fifteen years from the Harrodsburg session, they met in Covington, Ky. The improvement was wonderful. After sitting two hours, listening to reports of elders, examination of character, and qualifications of applicants for admission, the refusal to advance in the class those who had but a medium grade, and their general ability in Conference business—a man not "to the manner born"—the pastor of St. Paul's Church, Cincinnati, said to the writer: "These men have come up in my estimation two hundred per cent."

In this work there is an opportunity for extending a helping hand to the lowly unequaled since the days of the apostles: it is a work which appeals to our patriotism; for that nation is strengthening its foundations against decay where the best possible provision is made for the poorest of the peo-

and above the "spoils of office" look into the future not without apprehensions of disaster from the governmental problems coming upon this nation. Our schools are working at those problems all over the land. In the South our teachers have found a field for heroic self-sacrificing toil that has made many of this generation worthy to be enrolled with the fathers of Methodism, who went forth at the beginning of her first century in America to preach when they were every-where spoken against.

In the beginning of her second century, and among changed conditions, we hear the voice of God bidding Methodism to go forward with increased attention to *education.* The days when the itinerant studied his grammar by stealth, lest he should fall into reproach among the "brethren," will never return. The springs of influence that send out vitality and *Christianity* to all institutions of learning, public and private, primary and high schools, in city and in country, are in the *college* and *university.* Build these strong, and man them with great Christian leaders, and all the land will rejoice.

There stand forth, in this country, three great adverse forces: Romanism, Mormonism, Alcoholism. And these are all strengthened by the illiteracy of the people. They are the organized enemies of popular education. The first named is intent upon the subjugation of the earth. She aims to attain what she audaciously claims—*universality.* Mormonism, intrenched in the lusts of men, is more confident of taking the United States than the people are of destroying Mormonism. Alcoholism, intrenched in appetite and avarice, has laid its hand, heavy with the weight of gold, upon every branch of government—legislative, judicial, executive. Is there any organization that can stand before these great foes of the human race? Yes! And every one of them has set its eyes upon that other *ism* which God has raised up to fight against them all. *It is Methodism.* And it must come to battle with the giants, not as the shepherd youth, with only sling and pebbles from the brook, but intrenched in institutions of learning. Methodism will thus fulfill her mission.

Art. II.—SCHLIEMANN'S TIRYNS.

Tiryns. The Prehistoric Palace of the Kings of Tiryns: The Results of the Latest Excavations by Dr. Henry Schliemann. The Preface by Professor F. Adler, and Contributions by Dr. Wm. Dörpfeld. With 188 Wood-cuts, 24 Plates in Chromolithography, one Map, and four Plans. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1885.

To say that Dr. Schliemann has laid the world under obligations which cannot easily be discharged, is simply to give expression to the thought that comes at once to the mind of every intelligent man on taking up that author's successive volumes on Troy, Mycenæ, and Tiryns. Dr. Schliemann is more than merely a fortunate discoverer, whose happy lot it has been to light upon stores of precious relics of the past, kept secret from the eyes of men through a long series of years. His wonderful "finds" have been the fruits of no random explorations, but the merited reward of a wise, persistent, and laborious search. In an age of prevalent scientific and historical skepticism, no characteristic of his mind has been more noteworthy than his firm faith in the substantial truth of the early records of the world's progress; and rarely has such a faith met with more deserved success. Twenty—yes, even fifteen—years ago the notion that the events of which Homer sang were any thing more than fictions of the poet's brain was scouted in Germany, and even in England, as an absurdity unworthy of being entertained by modern scholarship; and when Heinrich Schliemann announced his purpose of seeking at Hissarlik for the ruins of ancient Troy, there was no end of good-natured ridicule showered upon his devoted head. The merchant who had by his industry amassed wealth in Russia and elsewhere was indeed regarded as a prodigy, inasmuch as he had meanwhile been able to acquire a great number of languages, ancient and modern, with the ease of a Mezzofanti; but the cheap prediction was ventured on all sides that his costly excavations would only end in ignominious failure. Criticism was not silenced, even by his strange announcement of the discovery of not one city but several successive cities upon the site of his explorations; when in the "embarras des richesses," the difficulty became one of picking out the particular city of which the bard of Smyrna had sung. The scholars of Europe even looked

askance for awhile at the magnificient vases of precious metal which Dr. Schliemann dug out of a secret chamber in the walls of Ilium, and proudly styled the "Treasure of Priam." Indeed, it was not until he turned his attention to Mycenæ, and the soil that had collected for ages over the tombs of the members of the proudest monarchy of Greece was compelled to give up its dead, that the claim of Dr. Schliemann was finally admitted to rank as the ablest and most successful explorer of our times in the realm of Grecian antiquities. Then it was found out that, after all, faith may be a better commodity than incredulity, and that the man of unshaken convictions stands a better chance than the skeptic to arrive at trustworthy and truly valuable results.

Scarcely less remarkable than his unconquerable faith has been his perseverance and thoroughness in the accomplishment of work. Difficulties and expenses that would have deterred others have had no influence upon our indefatigable explorer. Descending not to the depth of fifteen or twenty feet, as might be necessary to lay bare the forum of Rome, or the theater of Bacchus at Athens, or the streets of ancient Pompeii, he has not shrunk from the embarrassments attending a search pursued to twice or even three times that depth. To his vast upturnings of the ground the shallow investigations of his predecessors bear much the same relation that the superficial marks made upon the soil by the rude plows in use in ancient times, and still employed in the East, sustain to the deep furrows produced by the improved implements whose generous shares turn up the rich loam of our western prairies.

The present volume will fully sustain the high reputation before earned by Dr. Schliemann. The points secured will be found, though different in kind, to be quite as important as those treated in the author's previous volumes. In the composition of the work, it is true, Dr. Schliemann has had a less exclusive part. Only about two fifths of the pages were penned by him. Professor F. Adler, of Berlin, is the author of the extended preface, devoted to "an attempt to gather the results—as regards the technical and artistic aspect of architecture—which follow from Dr. Schliemann's excavations in Troy, Mycenæ, Orchomenus, and Tiryns, and, as far as this is possible to-day, to shape them into a picture of the oldest art of building in

Greece and in Asia Minor." It is evident, therefore, that this portion of the book, though placed at the very threshold, should, to be fully appreciated, be read only after the body of the work has been thoroughly mastered. A systematic and scholarly treatise in itself, this preface embraces the most essential data for reconstructing the palaces, monumental tombs, and fortifications, so far as they have been brought to light, of what we may presume to be approximately the age celebrated in song by Homer. The most important portion of the work, comprising almost one half of the volume, is written by Dr. Wilhelm Dörpfeld, an eminent architect, connected with the German Archæological Institute of Athens, who for four years conducted the architectural department of the German excavations at Olympia, and assisted Dr. Schliemann at Troy in 1882. But this diversity of authorship produces no confusion, as on all essential points the three writers are in substantial agreement. On the contrary, our confidence in the truth of the conclusions reached is enhanced by finding that these conclusions commend themselves to the judgment of three separate observers. In fact, however, all suspicion is disarmed by the singular candor of the writers, in no way more clearly exhibited than in the frankness—we had almost said calmness—with which they substitute occasionally a new theory for an explanation which they had but recently given forth with every mark of certainty. It is, indeed, somewhat unfortunate that the present volume wears the appearance of having been too hastily given to the press, and the reader cannot but regret that its publication had not been deferred a few weeks, if not months, in order that the subject might have been considered as a whole, with greater regard to symmetry of proportion, and with the complete elimination of discarded and untenable positions. As it is, the book was in the printer's hands and nearly ready to be issued when the newest excavations, made in the spring and early summer of 1885, contributed so much to correct or illustrate the results of the examinations of the site of Tiryns carried on in the previous years, that it was found necessary to keep it back for a few months, and to add a chapter respecting the fresh finds, which constitutes one of the most valuable portions of the volume. Notwithstanding, however, this peculiarity in the mode of its composition and publication, we must say that

the substantial value of Schliemann's "Tiryns" is in no wise diminished. There is, in fact, this advantage, that the student of its pages, being led to look upon the explanations less in the light of ultimate truths than as ingenious interpretations marking an advance toward a better understanding of the facts, will be incited to expend his own resources of scholarship to the ultimate gain of antiquarian science.

Like the author's previous work on Mycenæ, his "Tiryns" brings us into close relations with a district of Greece hitherto regarded as the appropriate home of ancient and uncertain myth. The scene of the birth and of many of the adventures of Hercules, the plain of the Inachus, became, in a succeeding age, the kingdom of princes but lately regarded as being almost as shadowy as that hero himself. The traveler from western Europe or America might leave the more beaten track of tourists, and wander into the territories of the north-easterly state of Peloponnesus; but if he climbed the wall of Tiryns, which he was assured was all that remained, or penetrated into the subterranean chamber at Mycenæ, popularly known as the Treasury of Atreus, he was generally content to admire the massive construction of the former, and the architectural niceties of the latter, without an attempt to connect either with the race of heroes that took part in the war said to have been waged against Troy. The problem who those marvelous builders were, that, with such scanty appliances at their command, could move stones of the size of the ponderous lintel of the Treasury or the great blocks that constitute the wall, was given up as beyond solution at present, and likely never to be solved. If the discoveries of Dr. Schiemann have not definitely set at rest all the inquiries which press upon us for an answer, it is certain that they have put us well on our way to a clearer understanding of the times treated of in the Iliad and the Odyssey.

The ruins of Tiryns, which our explorer had long since contemplated subjecting to a careful examination, occupy a conspicuous position in the southern part of the plain of Argos, and can easily be reached by a ride of little more than three miles from the modern town of Nauplia, known by mediæval sailors from Italy, Genoese and Venetians, as Napoli di Romania. As Mycenæ, situated at the extreme northern end of the Argolic plain, was evidently intended to guard the important pass of

Dervenaki, through which one must go to reach Corinth, Nemea, and Sicyon; so Tiryns was selected as a convenient point from which to dominate the sea. We can hardly doubt that Thucydides had this place prominently in his mind's eye when making his well-known observation respecting the peculiarity of the sites affected by the Greeks at an early period, when piracy was rife, and the profession of pirate was not only lucrative but held in positive esteem. Whereas, the historian tells us, the towns built most recently, and since communication by means of ships became more free and uninterrupted, are founded upon the very edge of the sea, protected by costly walls, and occasionally taking in whole peninsulas, those of the olden time, whether situated on islands or on the main-land, were purposely placed at a distance from the shore in order to protect them, as far as possible, from the attacks of the marauders who ravaged the lands nearer to the water. The rock chosen by the original builders of Tiryns was well adapted to their purpose. By no means a great elevation like the Acrocorinthus at whose foot the city of Corinth nestled safely, nor even a high hill like the Acropolis of Athens, the Tirynthian fortress boasted at least this advantage, that it had no rival eminences in the vicinity from which it could be commanded. Rising detached from the plain, the long and narrow hill has been compared to a ship standing out on the level surface of the sea. Of the beauty of the scene from its top there can be no question, whether one look toward the mountains skirting the plain uninterruptedly on either hand, or, turning in the other direction, one gaze over the extent of green pasture land to the blue waters of the gulf with the picturesque heights of the Palamede overhanging Nauplia. Dr. Schliemann grows enthusiastic in describing the attractiveness of the picture:

> The panorama which stretches on all sides, from the top of the citadel of Tiryns, is peculiarly splendid. As I gaze northward, southward, eastward, or westward, I ask myself involuntarily whether I have elsewhere seen aught so beautiful, and mentally recall the ascending peaks of the Himalayas, the luxuriance of the tropical world on the Islands of Sunda and the Antilles; or, again, I turn to the view from the great Chinese wall, to the glorious valleys of Japan, to the far-famed Yosemite Valley in California, or the high peaks of the great Cordilleras, and I confess that the prospect from the citadel of Tiryns far exceeds all

of natural beauty which I have elsewhere seen. Indeed, the magic of the scene becomes quite overpowering, when in spirit one recalls the mighty deeds of which the theater was this plain of Argos, with its encircling hills.—*Tiryns*, p. 52.

Nor will this panegyric appear excessive to any one who can call up to mind the beauty of the spring-time in Greece, the transparent clearness of the atmosphere, the delicate blue tints where the mountains lose themselves in the horizon scarce distinguishable from the sea, on whose placid bosom the distant islands seem rather to be lightly borne than to be fixed in their places.

Of the discoveries made upon this ground, some relate to the system of fortifications, the rest chiefly to the great edifice which those fortifications formerly guarded. Both of these classes are worthy of attention, as well for their architectural as for their antiquarian excellences.

The walls of Tiryns are certainly among the most remarkable relics of remote antiquity. It is clear that, even in the time of the father of profane poetry, these huge masses of stones, apparently heaped up by a race of beings possessed of superhuman strength, were an object of wonder. Otherwise we can hardly conceive that the poet would have singled out Tiryns among all the other cities of European Hellas to share with Thebes the epithet of "τειχιόεσσα," or "the walled." Evidently, in the poet's admiration for the strength of its works, he thought no others worthy of comparison with them. It was, doubtless, the difficulty which a succeeding age found in understanding how their ancestors could have managed the construction of so magnificent a work that led them to ascribe their erection to the fabled Cyclopes, and to invent the story that Prœtus, when desirous of furnishing the town he was about to found with impregnable defenses, sent to Lycia, and obtained the assistance of seven of those wonderful workmen who alone could rival the gods themselves in their skill and power. And so, when the site of Tiryns had become an uninhabited spot, people continued to point to the remains, and dignify them with such names as the "courts," or the "altars," of the Cyclopes, while the tragedians went to the length of naming the whole of Argolis "the Cyclopean land."

It is well known that so far back as in the time of the inde-

fatigable topographer of Greece, Pausanias—that is to say, in the second century of our era—the works were just about in the same condition in which they were before Dr. Schliemann began to investigate them; for, in a passage in his second book, he informs us that the surrounding wall, which is all that remains of the city, was built by the Cyclopes. And he adds that this wall is formed of hewn stones, each of which is so large that a yoke of mules could not move even the smallest of them, the interstices being filled with small stones, in order to fix the larger masses more firmly in their places. The same writer, in a subsequent book (the ninth of his itinerary), expressed his own surprise that his countrymen should have so little to say of a construction which he evidently regarded as worthy of a place among the wonders of the world. He said:

> The Greeks have a craze for admiring all that is foreign above that which they have in their own land, and thus it is that the most illustrious authors have come to describe with the utmost minuteness of detail the Pyramids of Egypt, but have not made the slightest mention of the Treasury of Minyas and the fortifications of Tiryns, although these deserve no less admiration.

Of the general accuracy of the description of Pausanias every one that has seen the ruins can bear witness. Dr. Dörpfeld points out, however, some corrections that must, as he thinks, be made to render it strictly exact. While Dr. Schliemann himself has no hesitation in regarding the blocks as not having been hewn, and thus accounts for the fact that they have been left unmolested—the later builders of Argos and Nauplia finding it more convenient to obtain their own materials from the quarry than to disturb the walls and break up the colossal stones (see page 17)—Dr. Dörpfeld is quite convinced that the stones were somewhat wrought. He observes:

> In regard to the manner in which the great blocks of stone were wrought, it may be seen from those pieces of wall, which are but little decomposed, and which have only now been brought to light, that the separate stones had, after all, been more dressed than was hitherto supposed. Almost all the stones, before being used, had been wrought on one or several faces, with a pick-hammer. In this way, some of the stones have received a better lower bed; others, a smooth facing. Thus, the walls of Tiryns must not be spoken of as being composed of unhewn, but of roughly-dressed, stones.—P. 336.

Nor is this all. Whereas the impression of all that have examined the ruins has been that in the construction of the walls no use was made of mortar, it is now the view of all those who have taken part in Dr. Schliemann's explorations that some mixture of clay was originally employed to bind the stones together, and that if none is to be seen now, it is only because the action of time has completely removed it, save in certain places protected from the influence of wind and storm. The operation of the rains of winter has been aided, we are told, by the rats and lizards which swarm about the ruins, and have doubtless hastened the result which the elements, unassisted, would sooner or later have compassed.

Every one who has been so fortunate as to visit Tiryns will, on taking up Dr. Schliemann's volume, turn at once to satisfy his curiosity as to whether any new light is shed by it upon the singular galleries built in the south-eastern corner of the citadel. One of these galleries, running northward for a distance of about eighty feet in the thickness of the wall, is very accessible. The other two, running in a similar manner from east to west in the southern wall, and parallel to it, have hitherto been more difficult to traverse on account of their inferior state of preservation. In both sets of galleries the sides are formed of great blocks laid in something approximating to regular courses, which, as they rise, approach each other, and finally come together, presenting the appearance of a pointed Gothic arch. The principle of the true arch, however, is wanting, as the stones are not kept from falling through their leaning against each other laterally, but because the center of gravity of each stone lies completely within the wall on either side. The chief peculiarity of the gallery which is most easily reached is, that on the right hand of the person entering it there are to be seen, at regular intervals, six door-ways or openings toward, that is to say, the outside, not the inside, of the fortifications. Many have been the conjectures of the learned both as to the purpose of the gallery itself, and as to the reason for which these openings were made, so as apparently to give access to enemies, instead of friends, to the interior of the works. As usual, some of these conjectures were absurd enough. One scholar regarded the passages as places for storing food and arms for the garrison, but could give no satisfactory reason for making the

approach from the wrong side of the wall. It was suggested that they might have been used as stalls for horses or cattle. But why expend such an untold amount of labor and expense in providing shelter for the comparatively small number of animals that could, at best, find very poor accommodation in these contracted quarters? Another scholar gravely regarded them as the chambers of the daughters of Prœtus, of which Pausanias makes mention in his second book; for no better reason, it would appear, than that the chambers in question had not been found elsewhere.

In the earlier part of the volume before us, Dr. Dörpfeld believed that he had reached the truth regarding this puzzling matter. He says:

> Steppen was the first to give a correct explanation in the text to his maps of Mycenæ; they are covered passages inside the upper wall, from which the defenders could step out upon the lower wall and resist the assailants. Small steps or ramps probably led down to the galleries from the upper citadel, but hitherto none of these have been discovered. Possibly of the two galleries situated in the south wall the upper one may be such a passage leading down to the lower gallery. For purposes of defense the lower wall must have had on its top either a breast-work or a covered passage; there are now no remains of either, for the upper [outer?] portion of the wall is utterly destroyed. . . . It must, on the other hand, be considered peculiarly fortunate that in one place important remains of the summit of the upper wall still exist, by means of which we are better instructed regarding the shape of the upper than of the lower wall. The remains exposed by excavations consist of four bases of columns, which were found at the inner edge of the east wall opposite the greater Propylæum *in situ*. . . . There can be no doubt that we have here the remains of a colonnade which formed an upper covered passage round the wall. Of the construction of this colonnade we know very little, but from that of a later Greek wall, well known to us, we may form an approximate idea of it. From the well-known inscription describing the restoration of the Athenian walls, we know that on these walls, built of clay-bricks, a covered gallery was constructed. It consisted on the inner side of a row of separate piers; on the outside there was a continuous brick wall, with window-like openings, furnished with movable wooden shutters; it was roofed with strong beams of wood, clay, and baked tiles.—Pp. 184, 185.

It is not a little surprising at first, but quite characteristic of the haste with which theories are frequently put forward, that the subsequent pages of the volume give quite a different ex-

planation, and one which, we presume, may be safely accepted as trustworthy. In the course of the explorations made in 1885, unmistakable proof was found that the outer portion of the wall opposite the eastern gallery had fallen away, and traces were discovered indicative of the fact that opposite each of the exterior openings there had once existed square or rectangular chambers, built in the thickness of the wall, to which these openings were the only doors. Indeed, in excavating the more ruinous and inaccessible galleries in the southern wall, the rooms themselves were discovered. The work of the explorer was not easy. Says Dr. Dörpfeld (pages 318, 319):

Great difficulty lay in the way of an effective clearance. In many places the ceiling had fallen, and the large blocks of stone had been so firmly wedged together in the small space that they could only be removed with the greatest labor. Again, in several places, the preserved portion of the ceiling, and the side wall which still stood upright, threatened to fall in during the clearance. As this, of course, had to be prevented by every means, we found ourselves compelled to shore-up the dangerous spots of the ceiling by means of stout iron bars, and to repair the decaying portion of the walls by cement masonry. Only after this securing work had been effected could the galleries be cleared without danger to the lives of the workmen engaged. The result of these labors repaid us richly for all the trouble and the expense. Within the [upper] corridor, which is still, in part, covered with its vault, nine steps of a staircase leading down are preserved. A little farther to the west, the corridor bends, at a right angle, to the south, and shortly afterward opens into the broader and higher corridor. In the southern wall of the latter are five arched doors. When we discovered these we thought that, outside the doors, the plateau of the under-wall would extend itself. But how great was our astonishment when, instead of the under-wall, we found five separate rooms, all of which were once vaulted with colossal blocks of stone in ogival form.

The explorer naïvely adds:

By this discovery, at one blow, every thing we had said on page 184, and following, in accordance with Captain Steppen's attempt at an explanation, was proved to be untenable. An isolated under-wall, with a passage along the top, such as we had imagined, has never existed in Tiryns at any place, but the whole under-wall was occupied by rooms; and only above the ogival ceiling of these chambers was the top wall-way, from which the castle could be defended.

But if slow in reaching this explanation, which may be regarded as definitive, the learned explorers are now able to show

that a very similar system of construction has of late years been found in several Phœnician colonies on the northern coast of Africa — at Carthage, Thapsus, Hadrumetum, Utica, and Thysdrus. In fact, they are able to give the plan of a series of rooms in the wall of Byrsa, the citadel of Carthage, which, but that one end of each chamber is round and that the corridor is toward the outside instead of the inside of the fortification, might pass for a plan of the rooms at Tiryns. (See page 324.) This is an interesting point, as having a bearing upon the origin of the early Greek civilization. It would certainly seem that the coincidence could not have been a fortuitous one. Either the Greeks drew upon the architectural plans of the Phœnicians, or the Phœnicians upon those of the Greeks; and, although the extant works at Tiryns are doubtless of a more remote antiquity than those that happen to have been preserved in the ruins of the Punic cities, we shall have no difficulty in agreeing with Dr. Dörpfeld in the adoption of the former alternative. It is true that the ancients ascribed the building of Tiryns to the Cyclopes, and derived the Cyclopes from Lycia; but, so long as no similar constructions to that of which we have been speaking are found in any part of Lycia, their origin must be sought, not in Asia Minor, but at Tyre and Sidon.

Leaving the exterior of Tiryns, and details more likely to interest the antiquarian and the professed architect than to attract the attention of the general reader, we turn to the interior, where Dr. Schliemann and his associate have had the good fortune to discover, as has already been intimated, the relics of a palace such as we must suppose those to have been of which Homer speaks, and these relics sufficiently full and decisive to permit the reconstruction of the plan, intelligible and consistent at all points with the hints casually dropped by the poet.

Let us enter the inclosure by what appears to have been the only ancient entrance (with the exception, possibly, of one or more postern gates), on the eastern side of the place. Before reaching this entrance the visitor had been compelled to pass, for the distance of a hundred feet or more, along the side of the walls, exposed at every step to the attack of its defenders. As was customary in all fortifications of the Greeks, where the nature of the ground in any manner admitted of it, the inclined way, or ramp, was so arranged that the enemy must

turn to the wall their right, or unprotected, side, while the left arm, with which they carried the shield, the principal defensive weapon, was away from it. But, the entrance gate past, the difficulties of him that would reach the upper citadel had but just begun. Immediately before him arose a wall of immense strength, from twenty-five to thirty feet in thickness, and towering far above his head. He must turn abruptly to his left, still exposed to the missiles of every kind that might be showered upon him by the garrison, and begin another steep ascent of one hundred and fifty feet, between walls at places not more than four yards apart.

Midway in this ascent a strong gate-way confronted him. Its outlines are still preserved, and these indicate that it had much the same proportions as the famous Gate of Lions that constitutes the main entrance into the citadel of Mycenæ. The lintel is gone, but, in the ponderous stone buried in the ground to serve as the threshold of the gate, there are on either side the round holes, about five inches in diameter, in which turned the pivots of the two gates that used to close the passage. Like the Gate of Lions, this portal has each jamb formed of a single stone not less than ten feet in height, and, doubtless, above them formerly stood, in the triangular opening above the lintel, some symbolical representation not unlike the sculpture that gives its name to the Mycenæan portal.

The top of the ascent reached, we find ourselves in an open space, a species of court, upon which massive walls once looked down from all sides but one. On that side, the western, the somber effect was relieved by a species of portico. We are entering the precinct of the palace, and this is the proper preface to it. True, as in every other part of the building, the walls remain to the height of but a single yard, but this does not prevent us from making out the plan with ease. The portico is but one side of a *propylæum*, the first and the greater of the two structures of the kind which we are to traverse. It may be compared with that magnificent work of the age of Phidias, the Propylæa of the Athenian Acropolis; but we are now contemplating the work of a much earlier and ruder period, and must look only for the first suggestions of that wealth of architectural design and technical skill combined with beauty of material. Instead of the rich façade of six grand Doric

columns, with the wings on either side in keeping with the main building, which used to amaze by its beauty the pilgrim of art as he climbed the great flight of marble steps on his way to the greater glories of the Parthenon, here is but a porch, or stoa, with two columns helping to support the roof, and the front, instead of seventy-five or eighty feet, is less than half that measurement. Yet we have the germ of the idea of the Athenian Propylæa—for the wall is here, with its spacious gateway, and the two similar porticoes, the one facing the outside, the other the interior of the palatial precincts. The material was, indeed, far inferior. In place of the brilliant white marble of Mount Pentelicus, employed on the Athenian Acropolis, because regarded by the architect as the most perfect building material at his disposition, the lower portion of the walls of the Tirynthian palace were constructed of the comparatively coarse limestone quarried in the neighborhood. Above this the walls appear to have been of sun-dried bricks, sustaining a roof with wooden beams, and covered, as were doubtless the homes of the people, with a thick layer of clay. Nor were the columns themselves, we have every reason to suppose, elegant shafts of stone such as, at a later time, Greek art was accustomed to erect. It is true that no column belonging to this early period was discovered among the ruins, but this very fact proves that the architects of "the prehistoric palace" employed some more perishable material than marble. We may, indeed, be reasonably confident that that material was wood. In all cases there seems to have been a base of stone, but this base was merely a rough block of limestone or breccia, most of the surface of which was buried beneath the ground. A circle, more or less carefully prepared, to receive the superincumbent column, was slightly raised above the general level, with the intention, apparently, of elevating the wooden column above the clay that formed the floor, and thus preventing it from absorbing the moisture which would soon have caused it to rot and become insecure.

The greater Propylæum gave admission to a long open court, of which, in consequence of a "landslip" of the western slope of the citadel, the exact outline cannot at the present time be made out on all sides. It would seem to have measured about seventy or seventy-five feet square. On its northern side was a second

but smaller Propylæum, of which the plan is almost the exact counterpart of that we have just been considering; the essential parts being a central wall, pierced by a single door-way, and provided with a porch, on either front, of two columns standing between the square *antæ*, or pilasters (parastades), in which the side-walls terminated. This Propylæum was the means of reaching the principal open space in the edifice, "the court-yard of the men's apartments."

In his Iliad Homer has little occasion to refer to the internal arrangement of the abodes of his heroes, for the poem is a chronicle of war, not of peace. But into the story of the Odyssey domestic economy enters as a more essential element, and a clear understanding of the nature and distribution of the rooms becomes important, if not to our intelligent comprehension, at least to our comfort in reading the narrative. Hence scholars have, from age to age, taxed their ingenuity in attempts to reconstruct the general plan of the palace of Ulysses, on the island of Ithaca, and the palace of Alcinous, upon the fabulous island of the Phæacians. How successful they have been may perhaps best be judged from a comparison of the conjectural plan of the Ithacan palace by Gerlach, and the several plans of the Tirynthian palace in the volume before us. We cannot, of course, imagine that any two palaces, even of contemporaneous erection, were precisely alike. The nature of the ground, its extent and grade, the adaptability of the site to purposes of convenience and defense, the size of the establishment, above all, the wealth and power of the family to be domiciled in it—all these afforded considerations that must have dictated many important divergences in the ground-plan, as well as in the dimensions and greater or inferior stateliness of the establishments. Thus it is evident that the peculiar shape of the hill of Tiryns—its contracted breadth from east to west, rendering it necessary to bring all the buildings within a space of scarcely sixty yards in width—must have dictated many details making the plan to differ from the plans of other palaces where there was more abundant room. Yet as almost all of these early castles must, in the nature of the case, have occupied the summits of strongly fortified heights, allowing little space compared with the broad expanse of the plains, it may probably be safely assumed that neither of the princely houses which Homer introduced to his

readers' notice in his immortal poem was very dissimilar to the palace of Tiryns. Certainly the latter, belonging to an heroic family not in the least inferior, whether in descent or in power, to that of the rulers of the small island of Ithaca—characteristically described by the poet by means of the epithets *κραναή*, *παιπαλόεσσα*, and *τρηχείη* (craggy, rugged, and rough)—would rather be expected to be the more grand and sumptuous edifice. May we not see an evidence that this was so in the fact that, whereas the Tirynthian palace had *two* "propylæa," or, to use the Homeric designation, "prothyra," the castle of Ulysses seems to have had but one? For the poet, in describing the advent of Minerva in the guise of Mentes, king of the Taphians, makes the suitors of Penelope to be playing at draughts, and drinking wine seated on the floor of the court in front of the doors, and Telemachus seated among them, buried in painful thoughts, when he descries the divine stranger "standing at the portal (*προθύροις*) on the threshold of the court," and hastens to meet her, and thus to prevent his unfortunate house from incurring, in addition to the disgrace of its present occupation by roistering wine-bibbers, the undeserved reproach of inhospitality.

Τὴν δὲ πολὺ πρῶτος ἴδε Τηλέμαχος θεοειδής,
ἧστο γὰρ ἐν μνηστῆρσι, κ. τ. λ.—Odyssey, i, 113, etc.

"Telemachus, the god-like, was the first
To see the goddess as he sat among
The crowd of suitors, sad at heart, and thought
Of his illustrious father, who might come
And scatter those who filled his palace halls,
And win new honor, and regain the rule
Over his own. As thus he sat and mused
Among the suitors, he beheld where stood
Pallas, and forth he sprang; he could not bear
To keep a stranger waiting at his door."
—*Bryant's translation.*

The spacious court before the men's apartments, across which the poet represents Telemachus as hastening to greet Minerva, is in the Tirynthian palace a quadrangle about sixty-six feet from east to west, and fifty-two from north to south. On each of the four sides there are porticoes occupying a portion of the space, and once affording a most grateful shade from the summer's sun. The floor is a hard and smooth concrete, which even now is injured only here and there. Such was, doubtless, the floor of

the court of the castle of Ulysses, upon which the suitors sat or reclined, resting "upon the hides of oxen which they themselves had slain."

In excavating this part of the edifice Dr. Schliemann unearthed a quadrangular mass of masonry, about ten feet in length by eight in width, standing immediately on the right of him that entered the Propylæa, and immediately in front of the inner apartments of which we shall presently speak. If there had been any doubt as to its destination, this was promptly removed by further examination of the mode of its construction, which revealed the existence within it of a great sacrificial pit, three or four feet in diameter, destined to receive the blood and ashes of the burnt-offerings slain upon the spot. In short, this was the great altar of the house, the altar of *Zeus Herceios*, or Zeus the protector of the domestic inclosure. It was the corresponding spot to that in which the poet represents Phemius the minstrel as contemplating taking refuge when Ulysses and his son were doing their deed of blood against the hapless victims of their revenge (Odyssey, xxii, 330, etc.):

> "He by constraint had sung among the train
> Of suitors, and was standing now beside
> The postern door, and held his sweet-toned lyre,
> And pondered whether he should leave the hall,
> And sit before the altar of the great
> Herceian Jove, where, with Laertes, once
> Ulysses oft had burned the thighs of beeves,
> Or whether he should fling himself before
> Ulysses, as a suppliant at his knees."

Hither it was that, a little later, having received the merciful assurances of the prince, the minstrel and the herald betook themselves.

> "They moved away and left the hall,
> And by the altar of almighty Jove
> Sat looking round them, still in fear of death."

And now we reach the *megaron*, or hall of the men's apartments, the center of the entire establishment. Situated on the north side of the court, almost directly in front of the portal of entrance, its vestibule or porch (*αἴθουσα*), supported by two columns, faces southward to receive the rays of the midday sun. The wall behind the vestibule is pierced with three door-ways,

admitting to an antechamber, and from this a single door admits to the hall itself. It is a room of goodly size, thirty-nine feet long and thirty-two feet broad. Its floor of smooth concrete bears marks of having been carefully ornamented with color, the lines scratched in its surface at right angles to guide the brush of the painter can yet be seen, and slight remaining traces of the pigments employed show that, when freshly executed, the whole presented "a carpet-pattern" of various hues not unpleasant to the eye. The ceiling was supported by four columns, of which only the circular bases, slightly raised above the concrete floor, mark the place. In the space between these columns a circle, about ten feet in diameter, in which there is no concrete, indicates the position of the family hearth (ἐσχάρα). If the hall of the men's apartments, by the circumstance that it occupies the highest ground on the hill, and by the dignity of its approaches, is clearly the central portion of the entire palace, the hearth of this hall is the very center itself. Here it was that the king sat in his arm-chair or throne, as described by Homer, leaning against the lofty pillar, and turned toward the gleam of the fire, and surrounded by the favored nobles that were allowed to enter the place. Here, too, attached to one of the columns, was the "well-polished spear-holder," or "armory," as Bryant translates it, within which stood many spears belonging to the master of the house, and in which the host courteously placed the weapons which he received from the hand of his visitor on entering the hall. (Odyssey, i, 127.)

Nor do the analogies between the palaces described by Homer and the "prehistoric" palaces of Tiryns cease at this point. In fact, these analogies are so many that room could not be found within the bounds of the present article even to allude to them all. Thus, among the rooms excavated on the west of the main hall, was made the interesting discovery of the bath-room, whose floor consisted of a single immense block of stone, and which was provided with channels and drains of clay pipe that still remain visible. As is well known, Homer does not speak of the baths as stationary, but qualifies those articles, so indispensable to comfort in a warm climate like that of Greece, by the epithets "well polished" or "smooth" εὖξεστοι. It is particularly interesting, therefore, to notice that

Dr. Schliemann discovered among the many pieces of pottery he brought to the light a fragment which there seems to be no doubt, from the statements given and the colored reproduction in one of the author's plates, belonged to such a utensil. He says (page 232):

> By a fortunate accident we found a fragment of such a bathing tub, which teaches us that it was made of thick terra-cotta; that its form agreed pretty nearly with that of our bathing-tubs; that it was furnished with a thick upper rim and with strong handles on the sides, and that it was painted within with spiral ornament.

Of greater importance were the results of the explorations on the eastern side of the men's hall. Here were found the women's apartments, similar to those of the men, but on a smaller scale. The women's court covers only half the space covered by that of the men. The *megaron* is proportionately smaller. It seems to possess a vestibule, but no antechamber, and the hall itself is so much more contracted as to have needed no columns to sustain the roof. Here too there is a hearth, but it is smaller, and square in shape, instead of round. Among the most notable of the minor discoveries made was this: In carefully cleaning out the accumulated earth from the hole in the threshold of the *megaron* of the women's apartments made to receive the end of the upright bar whereon the door used to swing, a piece of bronze came to light. On examination it proved to be the sheath for the lower pivot—a species of cylindrical cup of metal, over four inches and a half in diameter, evidently intended to protect the wood-work of the door from wearing away. Not only are the three nail holes for fastening it to the wood plainly visible, but one side of the cup is cut out to allow the admission of the frame of the door. (See the illustration on page 281.) The width of the cut, and the direction in which the cut pointed when found, seem to indicate not only the thickness of the door—over three and a half inches—but that the door was partly open when the conflagration of the palace occurred!

For it was to fire that the building appears to have owed its destruction. Occasional pieces of charred timber prove it; still stronger is the evidence derived from the debris formed by the fall of the upper part of the walls. At Golgoi, General

di Cesnola discovered that remarkable series of Cypriote statues which now constitute one of the chief scources of interest in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, embedded in a compact bed of clay, derived from the decomposed bricks of the fallen walls of a temple or treasure house, which was "almost impenetrable to the pickax." (See Cesnola, "Cyprus, Its Ancient Cities, Tombs, and Temples," p. 140, etc.) Fortunately, in Tiryns the sun-dried bricks of the upper walls appear to have been partly baked by the violent fire to which they were exposed before falling, and were not therefore in a condition to produce so unmanageable a mass.

Upon some mooted points which antiquarians would have been glad to be able to elucidate, it cannot be said that the explorations of Dr. Schliemann throw any light. One of these is the mode of lighting the rooms, large and small. Homer nowhere refers to any windows as being made in the houses of his heroes; nor has a single window been found in the prehistoric palace of Tiryns. How the light of day was admitted even into the *megara*, not to speak of the minor chambers, is altogether a matter of conjecture, and it cannot be said that between the various theories there is much to choose. In the case of the men's *megaron*, or hall, Dr. Dörpfeld thinks it probable that the four columns supported some kind of a clear-story, the sides of which were provided with movable shutters for the admission of light and air—shutters that could be closed to exclude the rain and the cold blasts of winter. As to the women's hall, which had no columns, he believes that the *opæ*, or openings left between the ends of the rafters resting upon the lateral walls of the room, afforded the sole source of light and the sole escape for the smoke; leaving the door out of consideration. However this may be, we are pretty safe in coming to the conclusion that the Greeks of the heroic age dwelt in dimly lighted chambers, whose twilight would have been intolerable for persons accustomed as we are to enjoying bright and cheerful rooms, into which the rays of the sun gain free admission. Into the "*thalamoi*," or bed-chambers, surrounded as these were by "*laurai*," or narrow corridors, it would seem that there was no provision for the admission of light—at least, none has as yet been discovered—save what could enter through the doors, in general broad and

generous in size. Still it must be granted that our knowledge on these points is singularly defective.

The seclusion of the women's apartments from the part of the palace destined for the use of the other sex proves to be very complete. In fact, it is more similar to the isolation of the Turkish "harem" than we might have expected to find it, at a period when the social intercourse between men and women was not so jealously watched as it afterward came to be in Athens and the Ionian states in general. There was, indeed, a tolerably direct communication, through corridors between the *megaron* of the women and the first and largest of the portals, as also between that *megaron* and the bath-room and other chambers, where the attendance of the female domestics was frequently necessary. But there was not at Tiryns, as it has generally been supposed that there was in castles such as Homer describes, any side or rear door of the *megaron* of the men, by means of which the master of the house, and others to whom their close relationship permitted this intimacy, could readily enter the portion of the building devoted to the abode and the working-rooms of the women. Professor J. P. Mahaffy does, indeed, maintain that this is just what we might have expected from the poet's own description of the palace of King Alcinous. Thus Nausicaa, he observes, is represented (Odyssey, vi, 50) "as proceeding *διὰ δώμαθ'*, *through the buildings*, not through a door, to find her parents. She finds her mother sitting at the hearth, but meets her father face to face, as he was *coming out of the main door* of the *megaron*, on his way to a council. Hence she came in by no side door."

The mode in which the walls and the exposed wood-work were treated receives considerable elucidation in the volume before us. Since the walls of the palace, as previously mentioned, nowhere remain standing to a greater height than a single French meter, or about three feet, it could not be expected that the coating of the stones should be found in its original position. But some very fortunate discoveries were made in the rubbish which had accumulated on the floors. None of the designs upon the plaster display any great artistic skill. Those that are purely geometrical are far superior, it appears to us, to the rude attempts made to portray human and animal figures; yet even in the latter we may see the beginnings of the

marvelous artistic ability of the great painters of Greece. The largest of these representations is that of a bull with a man vaulting on its back. The design reduced is used on the cover of Dr. Schliemann's book, but a full sized fac-simile is given on a larger plate inside. We may say here that the illustrations in colors are numerous, executed with great care and without regard to expense, and we have every reason to believe with strict fidelity to the originals. Some of the most important of the engravings are those that seem to prove conclusively that the builders and adorners of the palace of Tiryns belonged to the same race, were acquainted with the same arts, affected the same mode of decoration, and probably lived about the same time as the founders of Mycenæ and Orchomenus of Bœotia. We refer particularly to the very singular ornamentation by means of a series of circles connected together by a spiral line, or rather a succession of spiral lines, that enter into and issue unbroken from each circle. It is certainly no accidental circumstance that at every turn we find these spirals, in almost every degree of simplicity or complexity, whichever of the sites we happen to be exploring. At Tiryns they appear chiefly on fragments of pottery. At Orchomenus, they form the curiously interlaced and fretted ceiling of the so-called Treasury of Minyas. At Mycenæ they relieve the uniformity of the tomb-stones in the "circular agora," if such it be; and far down below these tombstones, Dr. Schliemann found them daintily executed upon those beautiful gold ornaments with which the dead were decked out. One could scarcely wish for more conclusive evidence of the identity in race, and closeness to each other in point of time, of the men that have left us these various memorials of their existence.

In this same connection we cannot avoid calling attention to the interesting "find" of what Dr. Dörpfeld styles the "Kyanos frieze," wrought upon several slabs of alabaster, which were found in the vestibule of the men's apartments, but whose exact position originally is a little doubtful. The peculiarity of this frieze, which is nearly two feet in width, is, that it is curiously decorated with numerous pieces, some round, others rectangular, of a blue glass or paste, combined with ornaments sculptured upon the stone. Now it is not a little remarkable that Homer alludes to a wall decoration in the palace of one of

his heroes which must have been very similar to this. Ulysses, after his narrow escape from shipwreck and his meeting with Nausicaa, daughter of Alcinous, king of the Phæacians, proceeds to the spacious abode of the monarch, described by the poet as a magnificent structure, far surpassing in grandeur the humbler abodes of his subjects; and among the particular features noted it is stated that

> Χάλκεοι μὲν γὰρ τοῖχοι ἐρηρέδατ' ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα,
> Ἐς μυχὸν ἐξ οὐδοῦ· περὶ δὲ θριγκὸς κυάνοιο.
>
> —*Odyssey*, vii, 86, 87.

That is, "bronze walls ran this way and that from the threshold to the inmost recess, and round about was a frieze of kyanos." There has been a vast deal of discussion as to the meaning of this word "kyanos." Many have supposed it to be some sort of blue steel; but, on independent grounds, about fifteen years ago Lepsius had come to the conclusion, since adopted by Helbig, that it was a very distinct substance known by us as "lapis lazuli," or else the color obtained from that stone, or used to imitate it. The discovery of Schliemann is a strong corroboration of this view. We have not space, however, further to develop this subject.

Professor Adler's dissertation, to which reference has already been made, has an interest quite apart from its particular relation to Tiryns. It embodies a good many new suggestions respecting Mycenæ, and does not in all points accord with the views of Schliemann himself. For example, Adler rejects the opinion of the excavator, that the bodies in the five famous tombs within the circular inclosure near the Gate of Lions "must necessarily have been buried simultaneously," and regards the little necropolis as having arisen gradually. It is noticeable, also, that his views respecting the singular subterranean and vault-like buildings which have come to be designated "Treasuries," are quite different from those propounded in Schliemann's "Mycenæ." In Adler's opinion, these also were intended as sepulchers of the dead, and, from their shape, he designated them as "bee-hive tombs," in contradistinction from the "pit-graves" in which Schliemann made his rich discovery of gold, silver, and other precious ornaments. To his mind, while both classes of monuments belonged of necessity to the most powerful and opulent of the residents—in other words, to the ruling

families—there is a difference of race and of date, indicated by the diversity of construction and especially of location. The "pit-graves" were outside of the original town, but taken into the walls when the place grew, much as the tomb of Bibulus came to find itself inclosed not only by the houses, but by the fortifications, of ancient Rome. They were even spared and treated with honor when it was found advisable to erect a new portal, the Gate of Lions. They must then have belonged to the earliest ruling family of Mycenæ, namely, the family of Perseus, or Perseidæ. They were not, therefore, the tombs of those heroes whom Pausanias mentions, as Schliemann imagined when he wrote his "Mycenæ," that is, of Atreus, Agamemnon, Eurymedon, the children of Cassandra, and Electra. The tombs of these personages must be sought elsewhere, as being of a later date; and are to be found in the "Treasuries," so called, outside of the citadel's inclosure. Adler even undertakes to identify the several structures, beginning with the Treasury nearest to the city on the eastern slope, which, he thinks, must be that of Atreus, and ending with the most remote of the Treasuries on the east, which must be the burial-place of Clytemnestra and Ægisthus, as the most unholy, and, therefore, most likely to be removed to a distance from the city.

The date of the destruction of Tiryns and Mycenæ, generally set down at B. C. 468, cannot be ascertained with any degree of precision. It is true that we are told by Pausanias that this event took place subsequently to the Persian wars, and that it was occasioned by the jealousy entertained by the inhabitants of the neighboring city of Argos, because Mycenæ and Tiryns had taken part very patriotically in the Persian wars, whereas Argos had undertaken no labors to save the country from succumbing to the foreign invader. But we are quite of the opinion, advanced by Professor Mahaffy, and warmly espoused by Dr. Schliemann, that the cities thus destroyed were but the ghosts of their former selves, insignificant towns that had lost the greater part of their population by war, intestine commotion, and the transfer elsewhere of their most important classes of inhabitants. The four hundred men whom Tiryns, aided by Mycenæ, is said by Herodotus (ix, 28) to have dispatched to the battle of Platæa, and the eighty whom, according to the same authority (vii, 202), Mycenæ alone had sent to the army

of Leonidas, in the previous year, do not indicate that these cities were possessed either of any considerable population or of the wealth that might have commanded the service of mercenary troops. The communities which the Argives broke up, removing the inhabitants and ruining the fortifications to render the sites no fit place for abode, were, doubtless, already of little account, and, in particular, the palace of Tiryns must have been destroyed long years, possibly centuries, before this final catastrophe. As has already been indicated, that palace had perished in a great conflagration. The wooden pillars and roofs had fallen an easy prey to the flames, while the walls, in places, probably, coated with wooden panels, could offer no resistance to the spread of the fire. In fact, these walls themselves, built of unbaked bricks above the lower course of stone, contained a considerable quantity of wood, inserted at regular intervals to bind more compactly together the friable material of which they were composed. Their surfaces, often glazed by the heat to which they were exposed, best attest the mode of the destruction of the palace.

We close as we began, by an expression of our conviction that Dr. Schliemann's last work is, on the whole, inferior in importance to neither of its predecessors. Nor can we avoid congratulating the explorer of Tiryns on having secured as the coadjutor a man of such eminent qualifications for archæological research as Dr. Dörpfeld, whose studies, as well as the great experience gained in the excavations at Olympia, render him one of the very best of authorities on such matters as the architecture of the ancient Greeks. Left in charge of the work at Tiryns, during Dr. Schliemann's absence, Dr. Dörpfeld was able to make considerable additions to the previous stock of knowledge respecting the ruins, some of which (as, for example, the discovery of the mural store-rooms) we have referred to, while others, including the uncovering of the side entrance to the citadel, with its long flight of sixty-five steps, have been of necessity omitted.

Respecting the external appearance of the volume, we have only to say that it does honor to the typographical art in America. We have noticed a few, but only a few, mistakes of the printer—not one of these in the numerous Greek passages that are cited. The plans and illustrations are not only superb in

themselves, but admirably adapted to convey a clear idea of the discoveries.

After his wonderful success at Tiryns, we can only join in the hope expressed by many others, that Dr. Schliemann may again turn his attention to Mycenæ, where we have every reason to suppose there once existed a palace excelling even that of Tiryns in magnitude, as the dominion of Agamemnon surpassed the dominions of all other Greek chieftains of his day. What if the traces of that palace might also be made out? What if another "bath-room" should be brought to light, possibly no larger than the "bath-room" of Tiryns, with its huge monolithic floor, but more interesting because within its four walls was enacted one of the most signal of those "sins begetting sins" in the house of the Atreidæ—the assassination of Agamemnon by his wife and her treacherous paramour?

Art. III.—FREDERICK DENISON MAURICE.

When Frederick Denison Maurice died in 1872, it was said by the London "Spectator," that in his death

> England lost one of her most striking and characteristic figures, and a not inconsiderable number of Englishmen one of those unique friends in whose sight men are apt to live as in the sight of a visibly higher nature, not so remote from their own circumstances, but that it is possible for them to conceive distinctly his judgments, and to forecast the tendency of his sympathies even when direct intercourse is impossible. . . . He was the man recognized by all who knew him, as combining most clearly spiritual principles which disowned all compromise with skepticism, and intellectual principles which disowned all compromise with bigotry or superstition, as combining in their highest forms trust and love.

And a writer less inclined to accept Maurice as master and friend said, in the "Fortnightly Review," that "his ability and learning were warmly recognized even by thinkers who, like Mill, differed most widely from his speculative opinions."

Among the Englishmen referred to in the "Spectator" as seeing in Maurice "a visibly higher nature" that commanded their reverence, were Julius Hare, John Sterling, Tennyson,

Charles Kingsley, Professor Garbet, and Thomas Hughes—men not likely to recognize as their "master and teacher" any thing less than a man of high intellectual gifts, and possessing the noblest moral and spiritual qualities. And their judgment of Mr. Maurice's mental ability was confirmed by such continental thinkers as the Chevalier Bunsen, who regarded him as "the exponent of the deepest element of English thought and life in the field of philosophy and theology."

Mr. Maurice's sphere of action as a preacher and lecturer was not wide and national, but chiefly limited to his lecture rooms at Cambridge, at King's College, London, to his London parishes, and to the Working-men's College of London. In these spheres it was not the multitude upon whom he acted, but the relatively few, upon whom he impressed himself profoundly, and through whom he diffused his peculiar opinions and influence quite widely throughout England. Of his writings it may also be said, that, though read somewhat extensively by cultivated men, they did not circulate very largely among the people either in England or America. Reasons for this may be found, not in their lack of moral beauty, or of suggestiveness, or of intellectual force and ingenuity, but in a certain vagueness which leaves the reader in a state of perplexed uncertainty as to what he intended them to teach. "One begins," says a candid critic, "to read his writings with the expectation of finding eventually some definite system of thought to which they may be referred, but discovers at last that Mr. Maurice is not a systematic theologian; that he has positive conviction, a determinative faith, but has never formally abstracted it from its place as a motive power, and given it a dogmatic shape."

This lack of clear and definite statement in his writings is eminently unsatisfactory, and his readers, instead of being landed at the conclusion of a lengthy course of argument on the solid rock of a demonstrated truth, find themselves in a sort of mental tanglewood enveloped in intellectual mist. This *may* be evidence, as the much-admiring "Spectator" contends it is, that Maurice's thoughts had their spring in a region quite above the mind of the reader; but to most men it suggests that the author's peculiar theories, being paradoxical and irreconcilable one with the other, restrained him from fully defining any one of his characteristic views of doctrine lest it should

be seen to conflict, apparently or really, with some other theory elsewhere stated. Whether or not this be the key to much of the vagueness of his theological writings, the fact remains, that they do not lead men to definite conclusions respecting some of the most important doctrines of which they treat. Though they do not explicitly and unqualifiedly sustain the dogmas of Rationalists, old school Universalists, and kindred errorists, yet their tendency is to beget doubts and to undermine truly scriptural faith. And such is their indefiniteness, that neither the friends nor the foes of evangelical truth accept them with that heartiness which is necessary to give them that extensive circulation which their many literary excellencies would otherwise secure to them.

The student of Maurice's career seeing this incertitude in his written opinions, very naturally expects to find its source in his character. Strong thinkers are, as a rule, clear thinkers, able to give pronounced and definite expression to their beliefs. But in Maurice one finds a man of unquestionable strength of mind, of varied learning, of superior literary culture and skill, of singular purity of character, and filling honorable positions in the national universities, yet holding opinions so unique, and so indefinitely expressed, that his contemporaries found it impossible to discover his exact place either in the Church or among the writers and thinkers of his times. He was a Churchman from conviction and choice, yet he was repudiated by both High and Low Churchmen, by Ritualists and Evangelicals; and though "liberal" in his theological opinions, he openly refused to be recognized as in full sympathy with the Broad Church.* So misunderstood was he, that, though possessing a sweet, gentle, inoffensive spirit and

*The name Broad Church, had its origin in words used by Dean Stanley in the "Edinburgh Review" for July, 1850, in which he said, that "the English Church is broad enough to comprehend persons so unlike as these two (Whately and Hare); that she can claim their different talents and qualities of mind for her service: that those who very little understand each other may, nevertheless, help different persons to understand their relation to her better, by helping them to understand themselves better. . . . The Church is not High or Low, but Broad."

Of this wing of the Church Maurice said: "Their breadth seems to me to be narrowness. They include all kinds of opinions. But what message have they for the people who do not live upon opinions, or care for opinions?"—*Life*, vol. i, p. 184.

a peaceful disposition, he was involved in almost unceasing controversy from the date of his dispute about baptism with Dr. Pusey in 1837, until very near the close of his life in 1872.

Thus his position being anomalous, suggests that his character was also anomalous; and one turns with curious interest to his memoirs to trace the history of his mind, and note the influences which combined with his idiosyncrasies to make him the exceptional character one finds him to be.

Of the incidents of his life it is only necessary to say, that he was born in 1805, that his father was a Unitarian minister, that he studied at Trinity College, Cambridge, where, though eligible, he declined to take his degree, because he could not conscientiously subscribe the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England, as the statutes of the University required its students to do before graduation; that after spending some time in literary work he changed his views with reference to subscription, entered Oxford, where he took his degree, and was subsequently ordained; that "he was successively chaplain of Guy's Hospital, of Lincoln's Inn, Incumbent of St. Peter's, Vere Street, London, and, at the time of his death, held the chair of Casuistry and Moral Philosophy in the University of Cambridge." At one time he was Professor of Divinity in King's College, London, from which he was removed because of his alleged heretical opinions. His labors in the Workingmen's College, London, of which he was the organizer and inspiring soul, extended through a period of eighteen years, and were of great value to the working classes. His writings were not the offsprings of mere literary ambition, but instruments by which he sought to give effect to his interpretations of the Gospel in the lives of men. Among them are, "The Unity of the New Testament," "Theological Essays," "The Lord's Prayer," "Religions of the World," "Patriarchs and Lawgivers of the Old Testament," "Prophets and Kings of the Old Testament," "The Conscience," "Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy," etc.

In 1866, writing of the fact that he was the son of a Unitarian minister, Mr. Maurice said that it influenced "the course of my thoughts and purposes to a degree that I never dreamed of till lately." To understand the force of this remark the reader needs to know that his father was not a

dogmatic Unitarian, but one who, while denying the doctrine of the Trinity, still held orthodox opinions on some other theological points, was a zealous defender of Holy Scripture as the word of God, and that his preaching was mostly on questions of ethics. He was especially zealous, as were the Presbyterian Churches among whom modern Unitarianism originated, in his opposition to all declarations of faith other than those which were expressed in the words of Holy Scripture. During Mr. Maurice's boyhood, his father was severely tried by the departure, first of his two eldest daughters and then of his wife and remaining daughter from his creed and Church, they having embraced ultra-Calvinistic tenets. The discussions and feelings to which these religious differences gave rise in the household, observes Maurice, "influenced me powerfully; . . . these years were to me years of moral confusion and contradiction." Amid that confusion, however, there were under-currents of thought such as rarely rise in the minds of boys of his tender age. The differences so earnestly discussed and so sincerely maintained at the family fireside, moved his precocious mind to wonder whether or no some way could be devised to reconcile these opposing faiths, nor did that wonder die out of his mind as his years increased. It rather grew into that "desire for unity" which, said he in later times, "has haunted me all my life through: I have never been able to substitute any desire for that, or to accept any of the different schemes for satisfying it which men have devised."

The impressions made on his youthful mind by these family conflicts respecting creeds bore, as their first practical fruit, his manly and courageous refusal to subscribe the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England, which was a prerequisite to graduation at Cambridge. As he then understood such subscription, it implied not merely a profession that he was in good faith a member of the Church of England, but also a renunciation of the right to think except within the lines specified in the Articles. Having no wish to make such a profession, and regarding a renunciation of his right to think freely as involving dishonesty, he resolutely refused to subscribe. To refuse his degree was to forfeit his prospect of a fellowship and other university privileges which were presumably within his reach, and of which, in view of certain pecuniary embarrassments

which had befallen his father, he stood very much in need at that time. But then, as always, he had the courage of his convictions, and preferred the hardships of poverty to a stain upon his conscience.

After spending some two years doing literary work in London, he decided to enter himself as a student at Oxford University, with a view of taking Orders in the English Church. To do this he had, under the statutes at Oxford, to make that subscription at matriculation which he had declined to do before graduation at Cambridge, and he did so "deliberately." On its face this act bears the stamp of inconsistency. To his own singularly constituted mind, however, it appeared to be eminently justifiable and right. His act at Cambridge had led him to study the question of subscription "historically and logically." His conclusion was, that it was not required as a "term of communion for Churchmen generally," nor "to bind down the student to certain conclusions beyond which he could not advance;" but only as a "declaration of the terms on which the University proposed to teach" its pupils! Hence, since the terms of the Oxford subscription did not require a formal renunciation of non-conformity, as those of Cambridge did, he could sign the Articles and feel at liberty to interpret them as he understood them, and not as they were interpreted by either the convocation which adopted them, by the writers of the Reformation period, or by the dons of the University.

To ordinary minds this view of subscription appears more ingenious than ingenuous. Dr. Tulloch calls it "an extraordinary refinement in argument," which it certainly was, seeing that it transferred a restriction obviously intended for the student from him to his teachers, binding them but leaving him free to accept or reject the Articles as his fancies or convictions might dictate. Maurice was no doubt sincere. It was both a habit and a defect of his mind to see things as he wished them to be. In this case his haunting "desire for unity" probably had an unperceived influence over his judgment, for in the light of his conclusion he could perceive how he could honestly subscribe to the Articles, accept ordination in the Church, and still be at liberty to search for such interpretations of Scripture as would furnish foundations for those theological theories he was so desirous of finding—that would reconcile, as he said,

"what was positive in all Christian sects, only leaving out that which is negative in each and incapable of reconciliation."

He who studies the divine word under the guidance of a preconceived purpose, and with any other desire than to ascertain its precise meaning, is tolerably sure to find, not the pure truth, but the truth corrupted by the bias given to his studies by his desire, which acts on his judgment as the neighborhood of a magnet does on a compass. Maurice illustrates this truism in that his eclecticism naturally, if unconsciously, inclined him to propitiate so-called liberal thinkers by giving constructions to some scriptural truths so forced and broad that, if carried to their logical results, they could not be accepted by more orthodox theologians. Perhaps it was because he felt, rather than acknowledged, this difficulty, that he shrank from clearly stating the conclusions to which his premises on inspiration, on the resurrection, on the general judgment, etc., legitimately led, thereby leaving his expectant readers, as he especially does in his theological essays, in a misty nowhere. Possibly, however, he may have reasoned himself into such strong convictions of the truth of his fundamental propositions as to be indifferent to the logical inconsistencies of his writing, since we find him saying, "It is only that which is not truth that trembles at one statement or another, at one contradiction or another." Had he postulated his theories in the light of the fact that truth, especially revealed truth, is never really self-contradictory, he might have avoided the anti-scriptural errors which are to his writings as flies in the ointment of the apothecary.

Mr. Maurice professed, and no doubt cherished, a high regard for the Bible as being, in his own sense, the word of God; that is, as a book in which "God has revealed himself, not dogmas about himself." In stating his theories he strove, he says, to give the words of Scripture their literal signification. He professed to write and preach under the influence of a fear lest his own notions should mix with what is revealed. Yet, when discussing the question of Inspiration in his thirteenth Essay, he presents a theory of it which fairly carried out ranks him, not with orthodox thinkers, but with full-fledged Rationalists. He robs the Bible of its divine authority, by ranking the inspiration of its writers with those impulses which gave

birth to high and ennobling thoughts in the minds of ancient pagan philosophers, and in superior men of modern days. He ascribes the impulses of ancient philosophers, of the writers of the Scriptures, of modern men of genius, and of all Christian men, alike to the Holy Spirit. He failed to see that if "every thing is supernatural nothing is supernatural." By unduly exalting human thought in such men as Plato and Shakespeare, and by confounding the illumination of the Holy Spirit in Christian believers with that true theory of inspiration which teaches that "no prophecy ever came by the will of man; but men spake from God, being moved by the Holy Ghost" (R.V.), he strips the Bible of its claim to be a special and authoritative revelation of God to men, and places it on a level with the best thoughts of uninspired thinkers. He further teaches that what there is of inspired thought in the Bible suited to the instruction of the individual Christian is to be discovered by him through the teaching of the Holy Spirit. Hence its value to the individual is not so much in what is actually taught in it, as in what he is enabled by the aid of his "inner light" to find in its pages. He thus made the "inward light" of greater value than the written word.

Moreover, he still further lowers his conception of inspiration by asserting that "all inspiration was subject to human conditions, and therefore that its records are liable to error." This admission, entirely consistent as it is with his theory as above stated, would have logically led him further into the rationalistic wing of the Broad Church than he was willing to go, and even into the fellowship of such Rationalists as his friend Colenso or Sterling. But happily, in Maurice religious sentiment was stronger than logic; and finding, as one of his friendly critics observes, "so much that was in the highest degree instructive in the very aspects of Scripture that rationalistic critics had fixed upon as embodying conspicuous error, he shrunk painfully from admitting an error even when he was quite unable to find a truth."

This logical inconsistency, arising out of his deep religious feeling, was characteristic of the man. It was his habit to appeal to sentiment in proof of truth. In respect to his theory of inspiration this inconsistency, joined with the fact that he supports it wholly by unproven assertions, renders it, if not

harmless, yet without claim to acceptance. It is a gate sufficiently wide to admit a flood of even atheistic doubts into minds less intensely religious than his own.

The letters contained in the "Life" of Mr. Maurice make it evident that most of his peculiar opinions, though shaped and formulated by his intellect, yet had their roots in his feelings. He was reared in the lap of Unitarianism, yet was never, he tells us, a Unitarian. He became an anti-Unitarian while yet a mere boy, not from intellectual or religious conviction, but because "Unitarianism *seemed* to his boyish logic incoherent and feeble." He despised both it and Universalism, as explained by its disciples, as weak. But for the influence of Coleridge, whom he studied at Cambridge and whose spiritual philosophy delighted him, he would have embraced the liberal, that is, skeptical, ideas for which, he says, he "shouted" at the university. "Coleridge," he wrote, "saved me from infidelity." When his heart was quickened, as it was when he was twenty-six years old, into a discovery of its "overwhelming weight of selfishness," and made to feel the need of something more positive than the aversions on which his pride had hitherto fed, he looked at what he knew of God in search of such a conception of His nature as would meet the demands of his troubled spirit. Unitarianism had given him the idea of a God whom it called the Father. Unable to realize that there could be a Father without an only begotten Son of the same substance with himself, he accepted the doctrine of "the unity of the Eternal Father with the Eternal Son in the Eternal Spirit."

Having thus become a pronounced Trinitarian, his next mental conflict was with the concept of the divine Father as held by the Unitarians on the one hand and the ultra-Calvinists on the other. To his view, the former made God "a mere God of nature removed from human sympathies, merely beneficent, not in the highest sense benevolent;" the latter represented him as an embodiment of an infinite, tyrannical, pitiless self-will. Maurice rejected both. In his recoil from the latter view, of which he had heard so much discussion in his father's house, he was led to think of God as a Being of whom, as he said, "I feel it my duty to assert that which I know, that which God has revealed, his absolute, universal love in all possible ways and without any limitation."

In reaching this concept Mr. Maurice had manifestly consulted his own feelings more than God's revelation of himself. He had made his heart, not his intellectual judgment, his interpreter of the Bible, which most surely represents God, not as love absolutely unqualified, but as love modified by hatred of evil, by impartial justice, and by the exigencies of a law which recognizes the punishment of sin as necessary to the maintenance of moral order in the universe. But Maurice had substituted for this Scripture view of the divine love a conception of his own mind, which by the way was not without certain mystical tendencies, as appears from his writing to a friend: "I did not receive this of man, neither was I taught it. Every glimpse I have of it has come to me through great confusion and darkness." Evidently he fancied that he had by his "inward light" looked through the letter of the Bible into the deeper truth which he imagined it was designed to teach.

This misapprehension of the character of God is the key to all Maurice's peculiar theological theories. It is the basal thought upon which he built his theory of Universal Redemption, which is not that of the Universalist, who, he says, makes salvation depend upon the mere "good nature" of the Deity; nor of the Restorationist, who makes punishment the instrument of salvation; but it is a theory which teaches that "all things were created in Christ Jesus;" that "Christ is the head of every man;" that consequently every man, no matter how ignorant of the fact or how wicked in practice, is actually "joined to Christ," is really a child of God and a member of Christ; that "it is a lie" to affirm that wickedness is any man's real state; and that it is the purpose of Christ's mission to secure the happiness of all by bringing all, either here or hereafter, to believe in God's absolute love as manifested in Christ's sacrifice of himself on the cross.

To support this self-contradictory theory Maurice depends very materially on his interpretation of these expressive words found in our Lord's sacerdotal prayer: "And this is life eternal, that they might know thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent." His contention is, that the "eternal life" of this text and of the New Testament is not equivalent to "future state;" but that to know God's absolute, universal love, and to be molded by it, is "eternal life." From this definition

he infers that "eternal death" is not endless misery, but simply the want of this knowledge; and that consequently all who have the knowledge have eternal life, and all who have it not have not life. Having thus eliminated the idea of duration from the phrase, he argues that "the revelation of God, and not the notion of rewards and punishments, should be felt to be the end of the divine dispensation;" and that this revelation is simply that "by which God seeks to come into fellowship with the creature."

This theory required the rejection of the facts every-where recognized in Holy Scripture, that the present life is a probation; that persistent sin, especially that chief of all sins, the willful rejection of Jesus Christ, is to be punished in the life to come with "indignation and wrath, tribulation and anguish;" and that "patient continuance in well-doing" is to be rewarded with "eternal life." Indeed, it abolishes all punishment for sin as such, and teaches that all suffering caused by sin is simply "God's protest" against it; and that though such suffering may be continued in the life beyond time, yet it will not be as the legal penalty of sin, but as it is in the present life, a means of bringing about the "reformation of his creatures." In harmony with this part of his teaching, Maurice interprets all that is said in Scripture concerning "that *day* of wrath and revelation of the righteous judgment of God" in which "all nations" are to be judged, as meaning nothing more than that judgment of sin in the human conscience, and in the administrations of Providence, which is now constantly taking place.

This is in truth a great fabric of theory standing on a very small portion of Holy Writ. If the very few texts on which it is built were inexplicable on any other scheme of doctrine—if this interpretation of them were in harmony with the general teaching of Scripture—the paucity of their number would be no objection, since a single clear statement from the lips of Jesus Christ, unqualified by other portions of his teaching, would be sufficient to justify any theory fairly deducible from it. But in this case the whole tenor of God's word is against the theory; and Mr. Maurice, instead of meeting this fact with exegetical developments of the manifold texts which on their face are hostile to his views, contents himself with dogmatic and seer-like reiterations of the dogmas he builds on a few

favorite texts. Indeed, like Mr. Erskine of Linlathen, in whose writings he found the germs of his peculiar views, Maurice speaks of his doctrines as *facts* which he perceives through his deep insight into the nature of God, rather than as truths deduced from revelation by exact exegetical study.

Like all errorists, Maurice gives plausibility to what is false in his theories by linking it to ideas which are true. It is true, for example, that "Jesus Christ tasted death for every man." Redemption *is* universal, as he affirms. But it is not true that every man will certainly be brought into fellowship with God, because the realization of the benefits of that redemption is conditioned on individual faith, and because, as he admits, "there is an unspeakable power of resistance in the human will to God's love." That this resistance might be final he concedes when he adds these words to the above admission, namely, "Not denying that this resistance may be final, but still *feeling myself obliged to believe, when I trust God thoroughly*, that there is a depth in his love below all other depths, a bottomless pit of charity deeper than the bottomless pit of evil." Here it is obvious that Maurice, unable to find positive support in Scripture for his belief in the final submission of all souls to God, turned, as was his habit, from God's word to his own feelings, thus giving to mere sentiment an authority for his opinions which he could not find in that eternal word which teaches that "the wrath of God abideth on him" who "believeth not," or as the Revised Version gives the text, "obeyeth not the Son."

Maurice's habit of mingling his errors of sentiment with the truth of God is very marked in his use of the text cited above, in which the Saviour defines "life eternal" as consisting in the knowledge of God. He is doubtless correct in teaching that to know God—to so apprehend his love as to trust in it and to be brought into fellowship with him—is the essence of that life of faith which is an image of that life of righteousness, truth, and love lived by the only Eternal One. It *may* also be true, as he affirms, though it cannot be certainly proved, that, because the life of faith in man bears this resemblance to the life of the eternal God, the Saviour designated it "eternal life." But when Maurice limits its application to this resemblance, and wholly excludes from it the idea of duration, insisting that it

has no reference to the future life, he forces upon it an interpretation which, however necessary to the support of his theory of God's *absolute* love, is not sustained by its evident meaning in the larger number of texts in which it is found. Jude, for example, did not understand it as Maurice does, when he wrote, "Keep yourselves in the love of God, looking for the mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ unto eternal life." To interpret this latter phrase as signifying nothing more than the knowledge and enjoyment of God, is to make Jude guilty of a most confusing tautology, that is, as saying, "Keep yourselves in eternal life, which is the knowledge of God, . . . unto eternal life." But give this beautiful and expressive phrase the meaning of a present life fashioned after that of the Eternal One in righteousness, truth, and love, and continued into the eternal future, and it becomes intelligible, consistent with itself, and with every other text in which it is found. Nevertheless, it is the exclusion of the idea of duration from this phrase that makes it the key-stone of Maurice's theological arch. Retain it, as every candid, unbiased thinker must, and his presumption that eternal death is not endless separation from a rejected Christ, but only a separation limited to some point here or in the hereafter at which the lost sinner may choose to submit to God, falls to the ground. The key-stone of his arch being gone, his theological fabric becomes a ruin.

The relation of Mr. Maurice's theory to individual religious experience is set forth in a very interesting letter to his mother, to whom he says:

> You wish and long to believe yourself in Christ; but you are afraid to do so because you think there is some experience that you are in him necessary to warrant that belief. Now if any man, or an angel from heaven, preach this doctrine to you, I say, let his doctrine be accursed!

By this energetic, not to say passionate, denial of the need of those mental exercises associated with that penitential faith through which a man is justified, renewed, and brought into fellowship with Christ, Maurice did not intend to affirm that the "man in Christ" has no conscious religious experience. His theory, as stated above, supposes

> that every man is actually in Christ, whether he believe it or not; that he was created in Christ, and nothing can alter that

fact; that the difference between the believer and the unbeliever is not about the fact, but precisely in the belief of the fact. . . . Those who disbelieve it walk "after the flesh." They do not believe they are joined to an Almighty Lord of life, . . . therefore they do not pray, that is, ask Christ to fill, animate, inspire, and sanctify them. . . . The condemnation of every man is, that he will not own the truth.

This view of faith makes it, not a personal trust in Christ as the propitiation for sin, but simply a belief in God's plan of universal redemption in Christ. It is not a belief in Christ as the *vicarious* sacrifice for sin, but as a sacrifice satisfactory to the Father; not because it declared God's detestation of sin, or enabled him to "be just, and the justifier of him which believeth in Jesus," but because it illustrated his absolute, universal love, and significantly set forth his sympathy with his human creatures. It is not a belief that looks for forgiveness in the sense of remission of penalty for past offenses, since the theory recognizes neither penalty nor pardon. It presupposes that Jesus, the root of humanity, having taken the flesh of man, willingly endured death, and fulfilled the law of righteousness, God justified him. "*In that act God justified the race* for which Christ died, and *made all men sons of God* in the only begotten Son." Therefore every man is authorized to see his own justification in God's justification of his Son, and faith is simply a belief that claims a privilege secured to every man by the constitution of all things in Christ.

Maurice makes very feeble appeal to Scripture in support of this fantastical conception of justifying faith. The one text he cites is, "God manifest in the flesh, *justified in the Spirit*," which, most assuredly, does not contain even a hint of his doctrine. It only states the fact that Christ's Messianic claims were justified by the miracles he wrought through the power of the Holy Spirit. This justification is a vastly different thing from that purely imaginary justification of Christ as the root of humanity which Mr. Maurice affirms to be the justification of the race. But, here as elsewhere, his peculiar theological notions are more the outcome of his religious sentiment than of sound interpretations of Holy Writ.

It is but just to Maurice to say, that he insists as strongly on the spiritual and ethical fruits of his theory of faith as the most earnest evangelical teacher could desire. In his own active, spot-

less life, it was fruitful of deep, somewhat mystical spirituality and ardent love to God and man. Whether it is likely to be productive of similar fruit in men generally is more than questionable. Looking at human nature as it actually is, one is disposed to regard it as a root upon which the most reckless wickedness is most likely to grow. The theory makes so little of sin and its final results, that the desperately wicked, supremely selfish human heart, being assured of ultimate escape from all the evil consequences of iniquity, will rather be encouraged to sin on than persuaded to submit to a Creator so indulgent that he does not really punish, but only protests, against transgression by means of evils which sinners so far despise even while suffering them, as to continue in the sins of which they are the natural sequences. If, as inspired truth teaches, the hearts of men are set to do evil because sentence against their evil works "is not speedily executed," how much more firmly fixed would be their love of sin if they were assured that in the life after death that sentence is sure, sooner or later, to be remitted?

There is no satisfactory evidence in Maurice's "Life" that his preaching produced any marked spiritual results, but only that a considerable number of individuals, previously inclined to infidelity, were led to look favorably on Christianity as he presented it to their minds. The humanitarian side of his opinions, with his strong assertion of the equality of men in the sight of God, and of the dignity of all men as sons of God, was very attractive to many whose pride revolted from any system of theology which recognized the deep depravity of the human heart, the turpitude of human guilt, and the justice of the endless punishment of those who obstinately reject the mercy of God offered them through the cross of Christ. Many such minds rallied round him as their leader in efforts to awaken in the laboring classes a desire for intellectual and moral development, and for the improvement of their social condition. To them he rendered very valuable service, not only by his preaching, but also by teaching them in Bible classes, by lectures on what he fitly called Christian socialism in contradistinction from the atheistic socialism of France and Germany, and especially by his varied labors as the head of the Workingmen's College. It is likely that some of these parties entered experimentally into the spiritual side of his theories, but one

finds no proof in his "Life" that his preaching ever produced any such wide-spread spiritual results as have constantly followed the faithful presentation of Gospel truth as generally understood by evangelical Christians. Maurice's peculiar theory of divine love, and of the actual justification of every man in Christ, did not demonstrate itself to be, in any marked degree, that Gospel which is "the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth."

The failure of his preaching to produce any such striking spiritual effects as followed the preaching of Wesley, of Whitefield, and of thousands of less gifted men, cannot be attributed to his lack of high qualifications for the work of the ministry. When he stood before his congregation his appearance indicated that he was not a merely professional priest performing perfunctory duties, but a man who both possessed and was possessed by what he believed to be the truth. His countenance bore the stamp of a mind strained to a high degree of tension by its strong perceptions of the thoughts he was about to utter. His manner indicated both humility and consciousness of strength, simplicity of character and depth of feeling. His voice, though monotonous, was yet musical. It was said to sound like the instrument of a message from the invisible world. Its intensity made it thrilling. There was in it a tone of sadness blended with exultation, suggesting that he was "rehearsing a story in which he had no part except his personal certainty of its truth, his gratitude that it should be true, and his humiliation that it had fallen to such lips as his to declare it." As he spoke his eyes were full of sweetness, and were "fixed, as if fascinated, on some ideal point." In his tones there was a union of sweetness and severity. His sermons, like his writings, were characterized by vigor, versatility, originality, acuteness, and independence of thought, by admirable taste, and withal by a certain haziness which often left his hearers in doubt as to the exact meaning of parts of his discourse.

His rare endowments for the pulpit assuredly gave his theories a fair opportunity to demonstrate their power to win men to God. Men heard them from a preacher to whom they were divine facts, which he believed were given him from God. Hence he spoke not only with the power of a highly gifted man, but also in the spirit of one to whom the facts he recited

were not the mere results of reasoning, but visions of faith. Nevertheless, in actual spiritual fruitage, in the quickening and regeneration of men, his preaching did not demonstrate that his peculiar theories were owned of God.

No evangelical thinker will be surprised at this fact. The gospel of Mr. Maurice was not the Gospel of Jesus Christ. That he held firmly, even realistically, to the doctrine of the trinity, to the fact that Christ died for all men, and that men may and ought to live in fellowship with God, does not invalidate this statement. Neither is it disproved by the fact that he was himself a man of much prayer, of strong, courageous, self-sacrificing faith, of a pure and lovable character, and of indefatigable zeal in his labors for humanity, seeing that it has often happened in human history that men who have mingled the errors of their own understandings with the truth of God have, nevertheless, been governed in their lives more by the truth in their creed than by the error they mingled with it. Mr. Maurice is a case in point. It may further be conceded, that, as Dr. Tulloch affirms, Maurice, with Kingsley and Robertson, who accepted his views, by his intense spiritual realism did introduce a current of spirituality into the Anglican Church which saved it from wholly lapsing into dead formality. But Maurice was personally better than his peculiar theories, which so emasculated the Gospel of Jesus Christ as to take from it many truths which are most influential in moving men to seek reconciliation with God. As a system, if this term can be properly applied to his incongruous dogmas, his teaching finds little currency in the theological thought of to-day. Yet his ideas concerning God's absolute love, and its relation to the final destiny of mankind, which have been extensively circulated in the writings of F. W. Robertson and other Broad-Churchmen, are still working injuriously in the religious world. It is visible in the preaching of the "wider hope," in the too slight emphasis placed by many clergymen on the "sinfulness of sin," in that superficiality of repentance, and that absence of intense earnestness in seeking Christ which are but too evident in many of the revivals of the times. These are facts which fall like deep shadows on his character and work. Yet, in spite of his errors and their hurtful influences, who can help loving the memory of Frederick Denison Maurice?

Art. IV.—WHAT OUR ENGLISH FOUND IN BRITAIN.

In the island around which rolls the modern world, are traces of people unknown to history, and baffling all its inquiries. Bracelets of gold and beads of amber are found in such connection with hatchets and chisels of stone as to suggest that these people, while rude in the useful arts, had taste and skill in ornamentation. This rudeness with this lively sense of the beautiful was still in the land in historic times.

Those vanished races so cultivated the island, terracing even its hill-tops, as to make it support a large population. They afterward, or a race succeeding them, made tools of bronze, of which the tin and the copper of the country were the ready ingredients. Who these were it is vain to ask or conjecture. Curiously, one may say parenthetically, within these two years it has been cried aloud by a warm patriot, Mr. Kenny, M.P. for Ennis, as an Irish grievance, that the stone beneath the chair in which for centuries English sovereigns have sat for crowning in Westminster Hall, which served at the crowning of forty successive kings on the hill of Tara, is of vast historic value to Ireland, and is in cruel and unjust exile. On this stone—so runs the legend—Jacob pillowed his head at Beth-el. It was taken by him to Egypt; brought along North Africa by a Greek, Gathelus, eloping with Pharaoh's daughter after her father's drowning in the Red Sea rested in Spain, then on Tara, then at Scone by way of Iona, and now in London! The stone looks not at all like the limestone of Canaan, the nummulite of Egypt, or the carboniferous of Tara, but very like the red sandstone of Scone; and so, for many reasons, its career is credible to patriots only. Like the legend of this stone, dim and shadowy or confused and incredible, are most of things said of Britain, especially of Ireland, before Julius Cæsar. London—"Lake-Fortress"—seems mentioned 2225 years ago, and even then as the great town, which its site justified and a rich region sustained. The earliest traceable inhabitants were probably those Celts known as Gaels, of whom the Irish and the Highland Scotch are to-day the representatives. These seem to have been pushed to Ireland—*Ierne*, *Erin*, "the west"—and to North Britain by the Cymri, who held England and

Wales at the time of Cæsar's invasion. The Saxons, who afterward crowded them to the West, called them *Welsh*, "foreigners," as we in Colorado count Indians to be aliens.

By these *Cymrig*, as they still call themselves, the island, at first named *Alpin*, "White Island," came to be *Britain*, "Land of the Painted," the color-loving, who tattooed even their own bodies. They had left Gaul, driven by pressure of invasion by some stronger people, or animated with hope of plunder and conquest for themselves. Long afterward many of them fled back to Gaul before the English, forming in France the province of Brittany or Bretagne. Thus two races of Celts were—and still are—in the islands, the *Gaels*, "Heroes," and the *Cymrig*, "Strong," or the Scotch (or, as we call them, Irish) and the Welsh.

The Romans laid the strong hand upon Britain, but, by reason of their own civil wars, and of their having other parts of the world to subdue and reorganize, they were long in conquering it. For several generations here was training-ground for generals, and even for emperors. In the third century the conquest was fairly complete, and for more than two centuries Britain was a Roman and not a British land. The Gaels were driven to the islets or the utmost peninsulas. The Cymrig became peasants; that is, slaves. The Romans built towns by the harbors or along the noblest streams, and their villas, with laborers' cottages clustering near, dotted with villages all the fertile land. There was a high civilization, as traces remaining even to our day amply declare. Excellent roads, bridges, and light-houses were, five hundred years later, still doing service. Even remote towns had theaters, temples, and palaces; while in London, temples of Apollo and Diana occupied the sites of Westminster and St. Paul's, where relics are still dug from the rubbish of ages. So productive was the soil, that its Roman lords furnished large quantities of grain to other provinces. Still the invaders were, even after six generations of occupancy, but as a garrison, holding the country by military tenure. The peasantry spoke their own language, and few Latin words made their way into British speech. None at all seem to have come from this into Latin, Caractacus for Caradoc, Druides for Derwydh, and the like, being of Latin termination only.

About the middle of the second century Christianity was

brought into Britain by a native prince, *Lever Mawyr*, "Great Light," whose name takes the Latin form of Lucius. About this time, too, are dated the poems of Ossian. These, as is well known, professing to have been gathered among the Gaels of the Highlands, were in great repute a century ago. Their early composition and their oral transmission for a period three times as long as that assigned to a like treatment of the Homeric poems find small credit now, and McPherson, their "editor," is honored as their author, though he retranslated them so as to have the "originals" to show in Gaelic! These poems are really very harmonious with Gaelic taste and feeling, and, if not authentic, are well invented, reminding one of that witty servant of the Huron missionary who would entertain the Indians with long supplements to their own traditions. The Bible was now rendered into the British tongue, and *Ban-gor*, "Great Circle," congregation, marked more than one center of Christian gathering for instruction and worship, and, as the name of a town, it survives in modern Wales.

A Briton, *Mor-gan*, "Sea-worker," sailor, Grecized as Pelagius, gave his name to a sect which denied the inborn depravity of the human nature, accounting for sin by the force of bad example, "as the Pelagians do vainly talk." The expulsion of this sect from Britain, A.D. 446, by bishops sent from Gaul for that purpose, nearly coincides with the withdrawal of the Roman legions from the island.

The Britons looked up and saw themselves restored to freedom and to the ownership of the land of their ancestors. And now the English (Angles) began to come into the place of the Romans. The Britons rose from the soil to meet them, and the struggle of centuries began. Every foot of English advance was sorely contested, until of all that is now distinctively England it might be said, as the Saxon Chronicle says of Pevensey, in 491: "They slew all that were therein, nor was there one Briton left." The English came to dwell in towns which they builded not, and to use roads and bridges which Roman skill and British toil had made enduring and magnificent. The British from Vortigern to Arthur retreated slowly, but in two hundred years the Welsh and the Irish, with whom the Scotch are identified, were driven to nearly their present limits. Of the words which our English took from these two branches of

the Celtic, most are used in our humble household vocabulary. These are such as *basket*, *bran*, *coat*, *dairy*, *dad*, *pail*, *pitcher*, *lath*, *whey*, and *whisky*. *Pun* (meaning "equal") may be from the Welsh, and *sham* serves us well, as do *happy*, *prank*, *fun*, and near a hundred others. *Sylph* ("genius," "spirit") comes to us from Celtic through the Greek, and *pretty* comes from the Greek through the Celtic (Welsh), and this latter word we could not well spare. No words expressive of law and government, or of the pomp and luxuries of life (*whisky* surely does not), come to us from the Celtic; and this fact, if we look at the style of words which the Norman-French, the language of conquerors, gave us, proves that such part of the British as survived among or near the Saxons were held as inferiors and in servitude. One word, *brave*, is the noblest of all the Celt has given us. It comes from his brighter side, and brings a world of suggestion as to his character. It was first caught in France, but it is now doing service in every modern tongue. If one word could half describe a race, *brave* would do that for the Celts. The word means, with them, "brilliant," "showy," though in our English, and still more in French, it has quite as often a secondary meaning. It intimates to us what was most agreeable and affecting in the Celtic character, and puts us upon the track of what the Celt has done for English literature. The bright, musical, imaginative element therein is mostly of his giving. In Ireland, as early as the third century, there was already a class ardently devoted to literary work. The *bard* ("poet") bore a square staff, on the sides of which he carved the verses which he framed, and sang, and from this came our musical term "staff."

These Gaels were the world's first rhymers. A Latin hymn of St. Ambrose, in 397, the first rhyme preserved in literature, is believed to have been of Gaelic suggestion. The music of these Irish bards, whose long line reaches from the dim, uncertain *Oisin* ("Ossian") to Furlogh O'Carolan, who died in 1737, was wafted across the dark border between Celt and Saxon, "the death-line of heroes," and it touched Saxon ear and Saxon heart. The *gleemen* and *scoops*, the loud English poets, used alliteration, often beginning a line with the initial of the word last preceding: "*Thaer waes hearfan sweg swutol sang scopes.*" "There was sound of harp, sweet song of poet." (Beowulf, 89.) And other such rude devices they used. The charm of rhyme

was quickly felt. Its beauty was its own excuse for being, though Carlyle fiercely calls it "fiddling." In spite of race hatred and bloody wars rhyme came among the Saxons to stay, and English rhyme is to-day the finest in the world. It, and the art of using it, we must value highly among the things our language found in Britain. The bards accompanied their songs with the sweet and lively music of the harp, and, ever welcome, they shed the soul of music through the cabins of Arragh or the hall of Tara. Laying by the harp, they soothed the parting soul, as at the death of Roderick Dhu, when

> "The chieftain to his clansman's rhyme
> With lifted hand kept feeble time."

Thus equally in joy or grief, or life's common monotone, the "Calc O'Leary" of the day was as "the beam that comes in warmth and brightness."

Close to the Gael's poetry and music came his wit and humor. His wit is indigenous and irrepressible, and not only in John Erigena, of Alfred's day, and Sheridan, a thousand years later, but to-day and among the rude, it has a grace of its own. In this generation a lady's parasol was wrenched from her hand by a puff of wind. An Irishman digging by the road-side recovered it. "If you were as strong as you are handsome it would niver get away from ye?" "I don't know, sir, which first to thank you for, the service or the compliment." "Och, that look of your beautiful eye did it for both!" Nothing finer could be given. Nor is humor far behind. "And will ye dine wiz me the day, Teddy?" "Now what have ye the loikes of?" "Only a nice bit of carned bafe and parratees!" "Och, me own dinner to a hair, barrin' the *bafe*." These specimens of to-day are good for Duns Scotus and Erigena. This wit told gradually upon the serious, straight-forward, realistic English mind, and Celtic vivacity brought into our literature the metaphoric use of words that had previously been used only in sober earnest.

History, after a fashion, was a favorite Gaelic study. The *Ollamh* (pronounced *Olave*), "Perfect Doctor," could recite seven fifties of historic tales. His profession was in the highest esteem, and was hereditary in his family. The *Driseg*, "Twentier," whose stock was small, was in demand for his

twenty, and their rehearsal enriched the long nights of revelry and ease.

The Gaelic Celts, and, indeed, all Celts, took special delight in gold ornaments, as rings and bracelets, and in bright colors; and in terms expressive of color, their language seems even more abundant than the Greek. They were fond of crimson shirts worked with flowers, and over these, yet revealing them, cloaks fastened with brooches, striped, or divided into many-colored squares. The rude mantles of the lowest were carefully squared in colors, and thus *plaid*, "a sheepskin with its wool," came to mean a cloth garment in the sheepskin's place and colors, and finally that style of coloring. More than any people of their time, or of any time, they reveled in green, blue, yellow, and crimson. Their eyes wanted all things "brave."

The Welsh are of far more sober turn. Their first poems—as far as we find—are of the sixth century, saddened by the hard struggle against the Saxon. The legends of Arthur are concerning men who fought well, but vainly, and went down in the strife for hearth and home with Cerdic and Ethelfrith, when eagles were freshly fed on battle-fields, and drank the heart's blood of "Kyndylan, the fair, by Wrekin, the white town in the valley." Even the bards of years long after could say, in the oft-quoted line: "They learn in suffering what they teach in song." The music of that early Welsh poetry, given under these sad conditions, comes to the ear with a sob like the sough of the sea on the Cornwall coast. Centuries later there was a strange epoch of revival in Welsh poetry, as if the nation had suddenly found the voice after six hundred years of silence. All the Celtic traits of which we have spoken then come out in song. There is profusion of imagery—color, and passion, and delight, and reverence, and a full, glad period of joyous utterance, in tales and songs and dreams and prophecies. This outburst, the like of which is found in the literature of no other people, had its final effect in intensifying the flames of patriotism.

It was in the morn of the thirteenth century, the most glorious of all in the annals of Wales, that this dawn suffused her sky. Bards awoke heroes, and Henry II. was baffled by the energy which this burst of song inspired; and for a hundred years the two Llewellyns maintained the freedom and even the

glory of their country. The deeds of daring done in war found ready fame from the voices of the bards. "The Triumph of Owen," translated by Gray, is the fittest survival of the period. Llewellyn was "the Eagle of Men, loving not to lie or sleep." "Better is the grave," sang the bards loud and clear, "than the life of the man who sighs when the horns summon him to the battle-squares." As they dreamed, "One shall hear that the Germans are moving from Britain back to their fatherland," Cadwallon, the last Celtic conqueror, and Arthur from his grave at Glastonbury, seemed to rise and fight for Wales. Let the worst come, "their speech they shall keep, their land they shall lose, except wild Wales," whose fastnesses were impregnable.

The century of glory went down in darkness. The last Llewellyn, the last prince of Wales, fell on the banks of the Wye; his title passed to the infant son of the English Edward, and the freedom of the land of bards and heroes departed forever. Even in this last surrender, "their speech they shall keep," seemed still remembered, and the Welsh chieftains stipulated that their new prince should be unable to speak a word of English. Edward II., less than a week old, could not but meet their demand. The rock is still shown (were the legend only surer!) where the last Welsh bard, his gray locks streaming on the air, chanted prophecies of ruin upon the ruthless king, foretold Welsh dominion over England (the Tudors were Welsh), and then, harp in hand,

"Deep in the roaring tide, he plunged to endless night."

So ended the line adorned by Taliessin in the sixth century and Gualchmai in the thirteenth, and countless unnamed bards between.

The Welsh language and its music are kept in Wales, and cultivated in the Eistedfodds of this country. Still to-day it looks as if "their speech they shall keep" is a prophecy in peril. Some forty per cent. of the schools in Wales are now teaching English, and the Welsh must disappear before the tongue that is marching on to the mastery of the world. The chief excellence of Welsh and the best qualities of the Cymrig mind have, during the last century, been shown in the preaching of the Gospel. In fire and fluency, in range of imagination

and in clearness of utterance, men like Christmas Evans have come to the first rank of sacred orators. Rude, common Welshmen often express themselves, even in English, with great beauty and power, and one is willing that their language vanish, if only their fervor and flow may enrich that into which it is melting away.

After many centuries the Welsh character shows in at least one direction its ancient and affecting features. It was in the middle of the last century that Wesley and his preachers entered Wales on their errand of evangelization. The fervor of their preaching, the solemn gladness of their experience, marched well with the Celtic temperament. There was no hesitation or compromise, and the Cymrig went over to Methodism with a wild and joyous ardor. Yet even here the undertone of sadness marking the throbs of his ancient poetry qualified his Methodism, and he took it with Calvinistic ingredients that give his religious feelings a secondary element of profound, almost melancholy, mystery. These men of Cornwall are found in mining villages far up among our Rocky Mountains, and one sees in their devotions the mold and temper traceable in their national songs of the far-gone days of the Llewellyns. The Church of England is too strait for their joys and sorrows, and while the restored cathedral of Truro is capable of holding half the towns-folk, its seats are vacant while chapels throng with worshipers. It may also be said that after the fall of the clans at Culloden in 1745 the Presbyterianism of the Lowlands of Scotland entered the Highlands as missionary ground, but even to-day the native churches have with their creeds a tinge, often strange and romantic, of true Gaelic enthusiasm and superstition.

And this leads one to recall what were the first effectual means of approach between Celt and Teuton. Speech is but our vehicle of thought and feeling, something nobler, indeed, than silver, "pale and patient drudge 'twixt man and man"—being the most vital and spiritual of all means for exchange of mind and heart. Still it is but a vehicle, having its chief force and all its perfume from that which it conveys. It was given to the Christian religion, as it came into English through Celtic speech in the north of England, to bring with itself what linguistic and literary elements it had found most valuable in Brit-

ain, as well as to open an avenue by which the races should come near to each other and begin to blend in thought and feeling, as blend, though slowly, they utterly will in all things human.

When Hengist, the first Englishman, set foot on the gravel at Ebbesfleet, the Christian Church was continuous from the Mediterranean to the Frith of Forth. His heathen followers broke, as by a fiercely driven wedge, this long communion. The Church of Ireland was thus cut off from continental fellowship; but, being unharmed by invaders, it developed within itself a fervent zeal in self-sacrifice and devotion to the faith. The Celtic enthusiasm burst forth in a passionate energy. The universities of Darragh and Armagh became centers of biblical learning, surpassing all others in western Europe. In half a century after the death of St. Patrick the island was evangelized, the North yielding to his appeals, as their kinsmen, the Galatians, had yielded to the preaching of St. Paul. When the aged evangelist was baptizing Fionn McCool (Fingal), he, unawares set the spike of his crutch upon the chieftain's bare foot, and pinned it to the ground. At the end of the baptism, as the saint changed his position, "Why did you not cry out?" asked he, in alarm. "I had thought, holy father," was the calm reply, "that this was a part of the ceremony." With such evangelists and such converts the faith spread far and effectually, and Ireland prospered in many ways as never before or since. Irish missionaries went even to the Continent, reviving the wasting churches from which they themselves had received the faith, and St. Gall, in Switzerland, bears the name of "Sanctus Gallus," the Holy Irishman, who made it a religious center. Irish missionaries took in hand the northern islands and the Highlands, and began to supply among the English themselves the lack of service on the part of the Roman mission which Gregory had founded in Kent.

On the west of Scotland the low barren island of Iona has to-day among its gneiss rocks some ruins among which the piety of the tourist may well grow warmer. Here Columba, an Irish missionary, built on the barren rock a monastery at nearly the time (597) when Gregory, possibly "provoked" by what he was learning of Irish zeal, placed Augustine at Canterbury to preach and rear the Church among the regions of the

unbelieving. Columba's house was a home and a school of religion, a light that served well upon a dreary coast. Oswald, who followed upon the throne of Northumbria that noble Edwin who had been the first to welcome Christianity in the north, and who had gone down in battle before the Welsh Cadwallon, being in his youth driven from his realm by the terrible Penda, found with these Irishmen a refuge, and better, a Christian training.

When recalled to the kingdom, he invited to accompany him a missionary from Iona. "Stiff-necked savages, that cannot be converted!" was this brother's sorry report of Oswald's people. "Was it their stubbornness or your severity?" tenderly asked a listening teacher. "Did you forget God's word about giving them the milk first and then the meat?" The speaker, Aidan, was sent to try the task after his own fashion, gentler but more effectual.

At the north-east corner of the England of to-day, on Holy Island—an island now at high tide, and a peninsula at low—he fixed his residence. His comrades went forth on various routes, Chad westward, Melrose northward. Aidan himself, on foot, went preaching through Yorkshire and Northumbria. Oswald went with him, and by his education at Iona rendered Aidan's Gaelic into the Englisc of the peasants. It was a labor new to Saxon kings—to all kings—but Oswald was *regissimus*, a very kingly king.

There were in those days noble Saxon rulers. As Ethelfrith in warlike prowess, and Edwin in law and government, so Oswald in piety. Moral force carries our conceptions of kingship to a goodly height. To gather these qualities and hold them—all at once to be warrior, ruler, and saint—was left for Alfred. Yet Oswald was a warrior. Before him and his small force went down Cadwallon, the last great Welshman of those ages, on "Heaven's Field," so called because it was the first battle-field on which an English king had entered with prayer. For nine years he bore sway successfully. So often were the hands of this first English convert by Irish evangelists upturned in praise or prayer, that such attitude became his unconscious muscular habit. When once he sat to dine with Aidan, his *thegn* (servant) told him of hungry people at the door. Oswald sent them his own meat, and bade his silver dish be broken and

divided among them. Aidan seized the king's hand and blessed it. "May this hand never grow old!" was his prayer. Seven years later Oswald fell in battle at Maserfeld, delivering East Anglia from the heathen Penda. His body was mutilated, but the legend tells how, when the rest of it had long returned to corruption, the hand embalmed in Aidan's blessing remained white and incorruptible.

The Gospel, thus brought to Northumbria by Aidan and cherished by Oswald, came to stay. The region was to abide by the faith of the Cross. Penda, who, like the very Antichrist, let and would let until he should be taken out of the way, reached Bamborough, within sight of Aidan's home. Piling into a heap the cottages outside its wall, he set the mass on fire to burn the town. Aidan cried unto God: "See, Lord, what ill Penda is doing!" There was a change of wind; the smoke and flame came back to blind and baffle those who had kindled them. There was better gain, for Penda's own son was baptized. Oswi, Oswald's successor, unable to buy peace of Penda, vowed to found, with that same money, twelve houses like Aidan's. Penda's army perished in crossing the river at Leeds, in front of Oswi, and the remnant of the old heathenism was swept away forever.

Another Irish evangelist appears, a simple, lowly man, Ceadda (St. Chad) of Lichfield. His death-legend shows the first working of Celtic leaven in the solid Saxon thought. "The voices of singers singing sweetly came from heaven down to the little cell by St. Mary's Church, where the bishop lay dying. Then the same song went up from the roof again, and back heavenward by the way that it came." This was the soul of Cedd, a brother gone to rest before him, and now come with a choir of angels to comfort the dying bed of the self-renouncing bishop. How easy this transition from the "sylphs" of the warm, bright Celtic mythology to the ministering spirits of the Christian verities—so far and yet so near!

The man who most exactly spans the gap between Celt and Saxon—who received the fullness of Gaelic glow in a hard, practical, English nature, who felt the bravery of color, tone, and dash, yet was moved by the sturdy instinct that counts and grasps and builds—was Cuthbert. His piety, his talents, and his toils shed fame on the region that was twelve hundred years

later brightened by the genius of Walter Scott. He was born in Northumbria, but, as it now is, in Scotland, near its southern border. His youthful shelter was a widow's house at Langholm, in the region of the Teviot and the Tweed. Early he showed within a sturdy Saxon frame the lively, poetic sensibility of the Gaelic temperament. Some word caught in a sportive game aroused him to think of higher than boyish things, and his thoughts were long, long thoughts. A traveler in a white mantle coming over the hill-side, and stopping to care for Cuthbert's injured knee, seemed to him a ministering angel. As he, in mood not unlike the young psalmist, followed the sheep along the Cheviot hills, he saw meteors by night flash out and then return into the infinite. To him they were sylphs, ministering angels, escorting homeward and heavenward the soul of the ever blest Aidan. These poetic longings and sensibilities at length marshaled themselves to an earnest, toilsome, religious life, which they filled with light and tone and joy.

Where now for so long has been that witchery of ruin, "Pale Melrose," was in Cuthbert's youth a group of log cabins in a wild, marshy solitude. This was one of the centers of the Irish missionaries, and in time it became the territory of four flourishing abbeys. Years later Melrose Abbey was built, and the crossing-place of the Tweed, not far away on the Edinburgh road, was the Abbot's Ford. Cuthbert joined these missionaries, and at first serving, then sharing, came at last to guide their labors. This was then a dreary region. The rudest of Saxons, "Border-ruffians," were living in huts "all down Teviotdale." To-day the toil of many generations has made here a smiling land, and many a stirring event, the theme of border minstrelsy, has made it the haunt of poetry and romance. The Saxon peasantry were sufficiently barbarous. Under Oswald they had professed Christianity, but they had not forgotten their old gods, and to these they had recourse in times of trouble. In the new faith they were weak, were converts in hardly more than name. Some rafts of timber for an abbey at the mouth of the Tyne (let us remember the abbeys were schools rather than monasteries), floating down the river, drifted with the monks working upon them out to sea. "Let nobody pray for them!" cried the ruthless throng on shore. "Let nobody pity these men! They took away from us our

old worship, and how their new-fangled customs are to be kept nobody knows." Among these fierce unbelievers lay Cuthbert's task of love and patience. The ruder and more remote their dwellings, the more readily he turned his feet thither. He suffered their manners and shared their poverty. He could tell them in their own tongue wherein they were born, with the "bur-r" still found in the speech of the region, the glad-tidings that his sweeter-spoken Irish brethren communicated toilfully through interpreters. His bodily frame was built for the life that he was leading. His wit and sweetness, his patience and his plain, strong sense, told for him upon his humble listeners. When night-fall in the waste once found his little company supperless, "Never yet," said he, "did man die of hunger, who served God faithfully. Look at that eagle overhead! God can feed us through him, if he will." The bird, as in fright, just then dropped a fish from its talons, and the company was not supperless. A snow-storm drove his boat on the coast of Fife. "The snow closes the road along the shore," said his comrades, sadly; "the storm bars the way over the sea." "There is still the way of heaven open," quietly said Cuthbert.

This apostle of the Lowlands thus truly represents the coming upon the Saxon character of the livelier Celtic element which was in Britain before it, and for the union of the two, as middle-term, or *mordant*, the Christian faith thus did peculiar service. The religious houses that now rose in Northumbria were gathered around some devout and illustrious personage, as the Gaelic clans around their several chieftains. This clan system of the Celts was their infirmity; it was little better than the tribal system of our Indians. The Irish tenantry of to-day suffer evils which are the lineal sequence of that early clan-life, the landlord having replaced the chieftain. The clan system was narrow and personal, allowing no political unity such as constitutes a state, and it proved baleful to the Church. Quarrels of clans scattered ruinously the Irish churches at home. Here, now, in this region where Aidan had labored, and Cuthbert had entered into his labors, Oswi, who had been the true friend and helper of the Irish missionaries, was led to prefer the more substantial territorial system of Rome, and Colman, the last successor of such men as Patrick, Aidan, and Ceadda, left

Northumbria and "Holy Island," and with all the Irish brethren in his train went back to Iona, whence the earliest missionaries had come about eighty years before. Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, then organized the churches which these faithful men had formed, as he did also the general English Church, into the system which is still retained, territorial rather than personal, feudal rather than clannish, with definite parishes, fixed incomes, and correlated authorities.

It was after a stay thus brief that the Gael vanished from the north of England, but his special influence remained. It had been as sunshine upon the vague, sad, resolute souls of the hard toilers and fierce to whom its errand was directed. Under Oswi's rule, while these men were yet speaking, and as if roused by the music of their lips, arose like one heaving his head from slumber, Cadmon, the first of our long line of English poets. What the Gaels did for Cuthbert in religion, they did in poetry for Cadmon. The place to tell his story is not here; it belongs distinctively to English literature. It is, however, not out of place to follow further the religion and literature of this region where we find the most energetic contact between Celt and English.

In Northumbria, under the impulse given by the Irish missionaries, caught and transmitted by Cuthbert and Cadmon, and fostered by the noble abbess of the house at Whitby where Edwin and Oswi were buried, learning grew, because religion flourished. As language gives the sum of a people's intellectual movements, so the dialect of Northumbria developed a capacity for all uses of poetry and eloquence. It became a vehicle adequate to all thought. Egbert, who was directing a great school at York (700), was urged by Beda to require all the scholars, and (as he was archbishop) all priests and people, to learn by heart the Lord's Prayer and the Apostles' Creed "in their own tongue, if they do not know Latin." Not one in a thousand knew Latin, and Beda, with whose great name English literature begins, gave to priest and people these Christian elements in their own born speech. As far as known, these sacred fragments are the first written English, and the new music of their recital took the place of Gaelic and Latin. Northumbria (or Anglia, having been settled by Angles) gave thus from her dialect the first "book speech." Her Saxon

neighbors, reading and reciting these, gradually shaped their dialects after hers, and even gave them the name of hers—Englisc. This literary pioneer of the dialects, naming thus the general speech, passed to the land and then to the people thereof. A hundred years after Beda's death Egbert, of Wessex, took the title of "King of the English," in place of "Overlord of Britain," to indicate his authority from the Frith of Forth to the British Channel.

This "Englisc" is singularly retained in the Lowlands of Scotland. A century before the Conquest the throne of North Anglia was given to Kenneth, of the Scoti (Irish), and the name "Scotch" passed from the family to the land and the language. Scotch literature begins with Harry Dunbar, and from him to Robert Burns—four centuries—its poetry kept closely the primal dialect. Nor is "broad Scotch" unknown in our day. A store of "Englisc" literature was soon gathered. Here in Northumbria came to be found translations of Scripture, books of devotion, and even old heroic poems. Here the Beowulf was at least revised, if not first reduced to writing.

Then upon this garden which the Gaels had planted and their converts had watered fell a killing frost. In the regions over sea from which all English had come, kings were ruling with an iron hand. Bold, restless men chose adventure, piracy, and war, before peaceful obedience at home; nor did their rulers regret to lose them. A Harold steered to Iceland, then green and fertile, and founded a state for centuries prosperous and for centuries decaying, until it is now ready to vanish. Others, under the flag of the Black Raven—some from the Norwegian fiords, some from the Frisian sandbanks, but all called Danes—burst upon England. They were of the same blood as their victims, and needed no interpreter. It was the coming of wild beasts upon tame of the same species. First was carnage, then quiet, then unity. But the carnage was terrible. When in their black war-boats the Danes reached homes or towns, these were burned, men slain, women enslaved, children tossed on pikes, priests cut down at the altar, and monks penned in their blazing monasteries. The old heathen England of Denmark came to wipe out the better England of Britain; and when Edmund was shot to death by their arrows

the three centuries since Hengist seemed to vanish, and wild barbarism threatened to waste the land.

As we used the word *brave* to illustrate one side of the Celtic character, so might we illustrate one side of the character of the sailors under the Black Raven. *Havoc* is a terrible word, and it comes to us from those who burned, after slaughter and pillage, the centers of piety and learning at Ely, Crowland, and Peterborough; who martyred St. Edmund, and beat to death with bones of oxen Alfheah, archbishop of Canterbury. Yet the same word, *Havelock*, "Hawk" (Sir Henry), himself in the line of these *Vikings*, "Warriors from over Sea," was worn by one of the noblest of our day. At a later day these invaders, tamed by the great Alfred and his family, became a peaceful, order-loving, and energetic element in the east of England. At the wedding of the Prince of Wales the laureate sang:

> "Celtic and Norman and Saxon are we;
> But all shall be Danes in our welcome of thee."

A thousand years ago a Danish arrival was deprecated with prayer and fasting, as a visitation of the divine displeasure.

The errand of the Danes to Northumbria was precisely opposite to the errand of the Gaels. These latter came as evangelists; those former, as destroyers. Yet the Gaels never assimilated with those to whom they came. They did their good work and departed, and even the form of their work did not long remain, though its spirit did remain. The Danes melted, and were lost in the general population only as they added to its volume and power. The rising Englisc did not take a usage of grammar or hardly a single word from the Gaelic. Its few actually taken either remained unnaturalized, as *pibroch*, *slogan*, aliens still, or, like *crag*, are of later taking. The Danes contributed few special words, but they effectually marked our grammar. The Englisc had six declensions and four cases. The Danes enforced one terminating case, the possessive, and to that our English came. They shaped the general speech of Northumbria, so that to-day the mountaineer of Norway can communicate with the peasantry of the North of England, and Scotch Lowlanders are not "barbarians" to Danes. "*Han said til dem, Folger efter mig*," and "He said

to them, Follow after me," are of family likeness, as sisters should be.

Perhaps a word is still needed to show why the Danes are introduced into this essay when its title should exclude them, since our English did not find them in Britain. They serve us here as a foil and a contrast. The Celts were of alien race; the Danes were kindred. The Celts came as evangelists; the Danes as destroyers. The Celts departed like shadows; the Danes came to stay. The Celts affected our literature; the Danes our language. The Celts brought us color, dash, music; the Danes brought the fierce, sad energy of which we had already too much. The Danes of England have long been undistinguishable; the Celts, whether Cymrig or Gaelic, after thirteen centuries, seem un-English still, resisting assimilation, and yielding, yet unconsenting, to the influences of trade, law, and education, which are sure to prevail with the process of the suns.

Art. V.—AGASSIZ AND HIS WORK.*

Louis Agassiz was born in the village of Motier, Switzerland, in the year 1807, the son of a clergyman, and of the daughter of a physician. During his first ten years he was taught by his parents; the next four were passed at a school in Bienne. It had been the intention of his parents that he should enter the commercial house of his uncle at Neufchâtel, but he was permitted to continue two additional years at the College of Lausanne, and then the commercial plan was abandoned altogether. After this, following the advice of another uncle, his parents sent him to the medical school at Zürich.

But even as a student "the naturalist was stronger in him than the doctor." In an autobiographic sketch of his university career, he tells us that while attending at Lausanne his first course of lectures in zoology, he became aware "that the learned differ in classification;" this discovery opened an immense field of study before him, by which he might be able to tell where the truth lay.

* *Louis Agassiz: His Life and Correspondence.* Edited by Elizabeth Cary Agassiz. In Two Volumes. 12mo, pp. 794. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, & Co.

From Zürich, he went to the University of Heidelberg. He had not yet obtained his degree, and therefore was still obliged to devote part of his time to the study of medicine, though much more interested in zoology and paleontology.

In 1827, a youth of twenty, and with his medical diploma still unattained, we find him at the University of Munich, drawn thither by the fame of its instruction in the natural sciences, to which he had now become almost exclusively devoted. But his parents were not satisfied, and insisted that he should take his medical degree. "I have had," writes his father, "a long talk about you with your uncle. He insists, as we do, on the necessity of a settled profession as absolutely essential to your financial position." This uncle was a brother of his mother, the head of a commercial house at Neufchâtel, who had loaned the money for the education of his nephew.

In 1828, while still a student in Munich, Agassiz published the first work which gave him distinction in the scientific world—a description of the Brazilian fishes brought home by Martius and Spix from their celebrated journey in Brazil. It was written in Latin and dedicated to Cuvier. To his sister he wrote:

In 1817 the king of Bavaria sent two naturalists, M. Martius and M. Spix, on an exploring expedition to Brazil. . . . In 1821 these gentlemen returned to their country laden with new discoveries, which they published in succession. M. Martius issued colored illustrations of all the unknown plants he had collected on his journey, while M. Spix brought out several folio volumes on the monkeys, birds, and reptiles of Brazil; the animals being drawn and colored, chiefly life-size, by able artists. It had been M. Spix's intention to give a complete natural history of Brazil, but to the sorrow of all naturalists, he died in 1826. M. Martius, desirous to see the completion of the work which his traveling companion had began, engaged a professor from Erlanger to publish the shells, and these appeared last year. When I came to Munich there remained only the fishes and insects, and M. Martius, who had learned something about me from the professors to whom I was known, found me worthy to continue the work of Spix, and asked me to carry on the natural history of the fishes. I hesitated for a long time to accept this honorable offer, fearing that the occupation might draw me too much from my studies; but, on the other hand, the opportunity for laying the foundation of a reputation by a large undertaking seemed too favorable to be refused. The first volume is already finished, and the printing was begun some weeks ago. You can imagine the

pleasure I should have had in sending it to our dear father and mother before they had heard one word about it, or even knew of the proposition. But I hope the premature disclosure of my secret (indeed, to tell the truth, I had not imposed silence on M. Schinz, not dreaming that he would see any one of the family) will not diminish your pleasure in receiving the first work of your brother Louis, which I hope to send you at Easter. Already forty colored folio plates are completed. Will it not seem strange when the largest and finest book in papa's library is one written by his Louis? Will it not be as good as to see his prescription at the apothecary's? It is true that this first effort will bring me in but little—nothing at all, in fact, because M. Martius has assumed all the expenses, and will, of course, receive the profits. My share will be a few copies of the book, and these I shall give to the friends who have the first claim.—*Life and Correspondence*, pp. 79–81.

At this time Louis is still willing to continue his medical studies and secure his diploma, but writes to his father:

I occupy myself chiefly with natural sciences. I hope yet to prove to you that with a brevet of Doctor as guarantee, Natural History may be a man's bread-winner as well as the delight of his life.—Page 82.

He hoped that this first volume of the Brazilian Fishes would secure him a name among scientists; the work of finishing another volume awaited him in the near future, and already his fertile brain was planning new works: one, the natural history of the fresh-water fishes of Switzerland and Germany; the other, a general work on fossil ichthyology. We have not space to give a letter which would show that his medical studies did not suffer from the fact that in conjunction with them he was carrying on his two great works on the living and the dead world of fishes. In 1830 he received his medical degree.

He had now to commence his career in the great world; of his prospects as he viewed them, he writes:

The time had come when even the small allowance I received from borrowed capital must cease. I was now twenty-four years of age. I was Doctor of Philosophy and of Medicine, and author of a quarto volume on the fishes of Brazil. I had traveled on foot all over southern Germany, visited Vienna, and explored extensive tracts of the Alps. I knew every animal, living and fossil, in the Museums of Munich, Stuttgart, Tübingen, Erlanger, Warzburg, Carlsruhe, and Frankfort; but my prospects were as

dark as ever, and I saw no hope of making my way in the world, except by the practical pursuit of my profession as physician. So at the close of 1830 I left the University and went home, with the intention of applying myself to the practice of medicine, confident that my theoretic information and my training in the art of observing would carry me through the new ordeal I was about to meet.—Page 157.

His bright day-dreams, in which natural history was to be his bread-winner, had faded: no professorship of natural history had yet been offered him, nor had he been sent by government upon any scientific exploring expedition; yet these studies had not lost their glamour. During the year spent quietly at home he continued the two works already projected, and was not without "patients in the village and its environs." But the naturalist in him was not at ease; already his longings were drawing him to Paris—"the great center of scientific life"—where he might hope for the widest field for comparison and research. Arrived in Paris, his scientific life overshadows his professional one. Henceforth we see him as the naturalist alone—not that he gave up his medical studies altogether, but turned his attention more and still more, as the years went on, to the pursuit of natural history.

The study of fishes was his first scientific love. While yet a little boy he would catch fishes in the lake at the side of his home, using neither "hook, net, nor line," but carefully hunting for them. His hunting ground was the holes and crevices beneath the stones, or in the water-washed wall of the lake shore. No shelter into which his curious finger could penetrate formed for them a safe retreat. He even acquired such dexterity that, when bathing, "he could seize the fish in the open water." These captives, while still alive, were carried by him to the stone basin under the fountain in the back yard, and in this reservoir their habits were carefully watched. When engaged upon one of his great ichthyological treatises, he said:

What I know of the habits of the fresh-water fishes of Central Europe I mostly learned at that time; and I may add, that when afterward I obtained access to a large library, and could consult the works of Bloch and Lacépède, the only extensive works on fishes then in existence, I wondered that they contained so little about their habits, natural aptitudes, and modes of action, with which I was so familiar.—Page 146.

The investigation of living fishes seems to have drawn him to the study of fossil ones, and assisted him in this study. In a letter to Humboldt he tells how his classification of fishes, unconsciously to himself, *built itself up*. The investigation of living fishes had suggested a new classification, and one which he thought more natural, based upon other considerations than those hitherto brought forward.

I did not at first lay any special stress on my classification. . . . My object was only to utilize certain structural characters which frequently recur among fossil forms, and which therefore might enable me to determine remains hitherto considered of little value. . . . Absorbed in the special investigation, I paid no heed to the edifice which was meanwhile unconsciously building itself up. Having, however, completed the comparison of the fossil species, I wanted, for the sake of an easy revision of the same, to make a list according to their succession in geological formations, with a view of determining the characteristics more exactly, and bringing them by their enumeration into bolder relief. What was my joy and surprise to find that the simplest enumeration of the fossil fishes, according to their geological succession, was also a complete statement of the natural relations of the families among themselves; that one might, therefore, read the genetic development of the history of the whole class in the history of creation; in one word, that the genetic succession of the fishes corresponds perfectly with their zoological classification, and with just that classification proposed by me. The question, therefore, is . . . one of distinct structural relations, carried through all these formations according to a definite direction, following each other in an appointed order, and recognizable in the organisms as they are brought forth.—Pages 203, 204.

We have seen that while still a student he published the Brazilian Fishes; and also began his two great ichthyological works on Fresh-Water Fishes and on Fossil Fishes. At that time Baron Cuvier was the great scientific authority on fishes. It was a proud day for Agassiz, a young man of twenty-five, when Cuvier reposed a great trust in him. This trust he describes in a letter to his doctor-uncle:

Last Saturday I was passing the evening there (at Cuvier's home), and we were talking of science, when he desired his secretary to bring him a certain portfolio of drawings. He showed me the contents; they were drawings of fossil fishes, and notes he had taken in the British Museum and elsewhere. After looking it through with me, he said he had seen with satisfaction the manner in which I had treated this subject; that I had indeed

anticipated him, since he had intended at some future time to do the same thing; but that, as I had given it so much attention, and had done my work so well, he had decided to renounce his project, and to place at my disposition all the materials he had collected and all the preliminary notes he had made.—Pages 166, 167.

The acceptance of this trust imposed the preparation of no new book upon Agassiz, but greatly enlarged his plan of the Fossil Fishes, and increased the value of the work. His father, delighted at his son's early recognition by the great *savant*, wrote: "Tell me, now that you are intrusted with the portfolio of M. Cuvier, as much about your work as you think I can understand, which will not be a great deal, after all."

The son answered by a letter which is simply an elementary treatise on geology, closing with this paragraph:

The aim of our researches upon fossil animals is to ascertain what beings have lived at each one of these (geological) epochs of creation, and to trace their characters and their relations with those now living; in one word, to make them live again in our thought. It is especially the fishes that I try to restore for the eyes of the curious, by showing them which ones have lived in each epoch, what were their forms, and, if possible, by drawing some conclusions as to their probable modes of life. You will better understand the difficulty of my work when I tell you that in many species I have only a single tooth, a scale, a spine, as my guide in the reconstruction of all these characters, although sometimes we are fortunate enough to find species with the fins and the skeletons complete.—Pages 180, 181.

"Mere guess-work," thinks the reader. An occasional, unexpected opportunity of verifying these conclusions convinced Agassiz of their general correctness, and may convince the reader of these pages that they were carefully wrought-out—not guessed-out—conclusions. A study of the Lepidostens among fossil fishes led him to detect the reptilian character of the type, and to see from the articulation of the vertebræ that the head of the creature, when alive, must have moved more freely on the trunk than do the heads of modern fishes. Afterward, in North America, he met the gar-pike among living fishes, and found that it was a representative of the Lepidostens, which he had once supposed to be extinct. To his great delight, "it moved its head to the right and left, and upward, as a Saurian does, and as no other fish can."

His introduction to Fossil Fishes, shows the simultaneous

appearance of the four great types of the animal kingdom—the radiates, mollusks, articulates, and vertebrates. His classification teaches the orderly development of the class by which the vertebrate type was first expressed—the fishes; he shows that the Placoids and Ganoids, with their combination of reptilian and fish-like features, characterized the earlier geological epochs; while in the later the simple bony fishes take the ascendency.

The technicalities of this work, at once so comprehensive in its combinations and so minute in its details, could interest only the professional reader [for whom we are not writing], but its generalizations may well have a certain kind of attraction to the uninitiated. It treats of the relations—anatomical, zoological, and geological—between the whole class of fishes, fossil and living, illustrating them by numerous plates, while additional light is thrown on the whole by the revelations of embryology.—Page 241.

But leaving these technicalities to the professional reader, let us study some of his general conclusions:

Notwithstanding striking differences, it is evident to the attentive observer that one single idea has presided over the development of the whole class, and that all the deviations lead back to a primary plan, so that even if the thread seem broken in the present creation, one can reunite it in reaching the domain of fossil ichthyology.—Page 241.

He taught development, but not according to the Darwinian theory. To him development meant development in plan as expressed in structure, not the change of one structure into another. [What about "plan," as contradistinguished from *structure?*] To his apprehension the change was based upon intellectual, not upon material, causes.

Such facts proclaim aloud principles not yet discussed in science, but which paleontological researches place before the eyes of the observer with an ever-increasing persistency. I speak of the relations of the creation with the Creator. Phenomena closely allied in the order of their succession, and yet without sufficient cause in themselves for their appearance—an infinite diversity of species without any common material bond, so grouping themselves as to present the most admirable progressive development to which our own species is linked—are these not incontestable proofs of the existence of a superior Intelligence whose power alone could have established such an order of things? . . . More than fifteen hundred species of fossil fishes, which I have learned to know, tell me that species do not pass insensibly one into another, but that they appear and disappear unexpectedly, without direct

relations with their precursors. . . . All these species have a fixed epoch of appearance and disappearance; their existence is even limited to an appointed time. . . . An invisible thread unwinds itself throughout all time across this immense diversity, and presents to us as a definite result a continual progress in the development of which man is the term, of which the four classes of vertebrates are intermediate forms, and the totality of invertebrate animals the constant accessory accompaniment.—Pages 244, 245.

These theories of development he never changed. Just before his death, he undertook a series of papers to be published in the "Atlantic Monthly" on "Evolution and Permanence of Type." These papers were never completed. They were to have contained his own convictions regarding the connection between all living beings, upon which his studies had led to conclusions so different from the philosophy of the day. Of these papers only one was finished. It was his last work upon science. The correction of the proof-sheets was the last act of his working life, and the article was published after his death. In it he claimed that the law of evolution—in a certain sense as true to him as to any so-called "evolutionist"—was a law "controlling development, and keeping types within appointed cycles of growth." He maintained that this law acts within definite limits, and never infringes upon the great types, each one of which is, in his view, a structural unit in itself. He adds:

Even metamorphoses have all the constancy and invariability of other modes of embryonic growth, and have never been known to lead to any transition of one species into another. . . . There is nothing more striking in the whole book of nature than the power shown by types and species to resist physical conditions. . . . One thing only we know absolutely, and in this treacherous, marshy ground of hypothesis and assumption, it is pleasant to plant one's foot occasionally upon a solid fact here and there. Whatever be the means of preserving and transmitting properties, the primitive types have remained permanent and unchanged, in the long succession of ages, amid all the appearance and disappearance of kinds, the fading away of one species and the coming in of another, from the earliest geological periods to the present day. How these types were first introduced, how the species which have successively represented them have replaced one another—these are the vital questions to which no answer has been given. We are as far from any satisfactory solution of the problem as if development theories had never been discussed.—Pages 778–780.

We turn our attention next to a sketch of his glacial researches, and to some account of the conclusions he reached:

> The summer of 1836 was an eventful one for Agassiz—the opening, indeed, of a new and brilliant chapter in his life. The attention of the ignorant and the learned had alike been called to the singular glacial phenomena of movement and transportation in the Alpine valleys. The peasant had told his strange story of bowlders carried on the back of the ice, of the alternate retreat and advance of glaciers, now shrinking to narrower limits, now plunging forward into adjoining fields, by some unexplained power of expansion and contraction. Scientific men were awake to the interest of these facts, but had considered them only as local phenomena. Venetz and Charpentier were the first to detect their wider significance. The former traced the ancient limits of the Alpine glaciers as defined by the frame-work of *débris* or loose material they had left behind them; Charpentier went further, and affirmed that all the erratic bowlders scattered over the plains of Switzerland and on the sides of the Jura had been thus distributed by ice, and not by water, as had been supposed. —Pages 260, 261.

Agassiz was doubtful of this theory. Needing a vacation, he decided to spend it in the valley of the Rhone, and examine in this place the theories of Charpentier. "He went expecting to confirm his own doubts, and to disabuse his friend of his error; . . . he came away satisfied that a too narrow interpretation of the phenomena was Charpentier's only mistake."—Page 261.

When the Helvetic Association assembled at Neufchâtel, in the following summer, the young president, from whom the members had expected to hear new tidings of fossil fishes, startled them by the presentation of a glacial theory in which the local erratic phenomena of the Swiss valleys assumed a cosmic significance. In this address he announced his conviction that a great ice-period, due to a temporary oscillation of the temperature of the globe, had covered the surface of the earth with a sheet of ice, extending at least from the north pole to Central Europe and Asia. He said:

> Siberian winter established itself for a time over a world previously covered with a rich vegetation and peopled with large mammalia, similiar to those now inhabiting the warm regions of India and Africa. Death enveloped all nature in a shroud, and the cold, having reached its highest degree, gave to this mass of ice, at the maximum of tension, the greatest possible hardness.—Page 264.

The winter of 1840 was fully occupied by the preparation for the publication of the "Etudes sur les Glaciers," which appeared before the year was out, accompanied by an atlas of thirty-two plates. The volume of text consisted of an historical *résumé* of all that had been previously done in the study of the glaciers, followed by an account of the observations of Agassiz and his companions during the last three or four years upon the glaciers of the Alps. Their structure, external aspect, needles, tables, perched blocks, gravel cones, rifts and crevasses, as well as their movements, mode of formation, and internal temperature, were treated in succession. But the most interesting chapters, from the author's own point of view, and those which were most novel for his readers, were the concluding ones upon the ancient extension of the Swiss glaciers, and upon the former existence of an immense unbroken sheet of ice, which had once covered the whole northern hemisphere. No one before had drawn such vast conclusions from the local phenomena of the Alpine valleys. 'The surface of Europe,' says Agassiz, 'adorned before by a tropical vegetation, and inhabited by troops of large elephants, enormous hippopotami, and gigantic carnivora, was suddenly buried under a vast mantle of ice, covering alike plains, lakes, seas, and plateaus. Upon the life and movement of a powerful creation fell the silence of death. Springs paused, rivers ceased to flow, the rays of the sun, rising upon this frozen shore (if, indeed, it was reached by them), were met only by the breath of winter from the north and the thunders of the crevasses as they opened across the surface of the icy sea.' The author goes on to state that on the breaking up of this icy shroud the ice must have lingered longest in mountainous strongholds, and that all these fastnesses of retreat became, as the Alps are now, centers of distribution for the broken *débris* and rocky fragments which are found scattered with a kind of regularity along certain lines and over given areas in northern and central Europe.—Pages 295–297.

No wonder that scientific men who had given these subjects careful consideration, and who had expounded these phenomena upon the principle of floods, freshets, and floating ice, should treat these new views with indignation and even with contempt; nor that others more interested in his work on fishes should beg him to stick to his chosen subjects and let these theories alone. Agassiz had had a view of what he felt to be the truth; he could not keep silent, nor refrain from investigation. He did not then know that new views, if founded upon that truth, would commend themselves gradually to final acceptation. The time came when he could smile at the difficulties which first beset his theory of glaciers, and feel that the scientific world had accepted it.

His study of the Alpine valleys taught him the "handwriting of the glacier;" he knew the grooved, polished, scratched surface it left in its path; it became as legible to him as the hieroglyphic to an Egyptian scholar. Henceforth he hunted for these marks, as the hunter watches for the track of a wild animal whose foot-prints have grown familiar to him. He found them, as he had expected, in the highlands of Scotland, the hilly lake country of England, the mountains of Wales and Ireland.

When in after years he had an opportunity to examine various parts of North America about New York, Brooklyn, Boston, Lake Superior, Maine, he read the same tale. "To me," he says, "who have been so many years familiar with these phenomena in Alpine valleys (paradoxical as the statement may seem), the presence of the ice is now an unimportant element in glacial phenomena; no more essential than is the flesh to the anatomist who studies the skeleton of a fossil fish." He even obtained direct proof that the prairies of the West rest upon polished rock, happening to have seen the native rock, when laid bare for building purposes, as distinctly furrowed by the action of the glacier, and by its engraving process, "as the Handek, or the slopes of the Jura."

There was, however, one kind of evidence wanting to remove all doubt that the greater extension of glaciers in former ages was connected with cosmic changes in the physical condition of our globe.

All the phenomena relating to the glacial period must be found in the southern hemisphere, accompanied by the same characteristic features as in the north, but with this essential difference—that every thing must be reversed. The trend of the glacial abrasions must be from the south northward, the lee-side of abraded rocks must be on the north side of the hills and mountain ranges, and the bowlders must have traveled from the south to their present position. Whether this be so or not, has not yet been ascertained by direct observation.—Page 694.

Afterward Agassiz had an opportunity to make personal inquiry into these questions, and his decision was that in the Strait of Magellan

Every characteristic feature known in the Alps as the work of the glaciers was easily recognizable here, and as perfectly preserved as anywhere in Switzerland. The rounded knolls to which De Saussure first gave the name of *roches moutonnèes* were

smoothed, polished, scratched, and grooved in the direction of the ice movement, the marks running mostly from south to north, or nearly so.—Page 728.

This sheet of ice (a glacier in Magellan's Strait), even in its present reduced extent, is about a mile in width, several miles in length, and at least two hundred feet in depth. Moving forward as it does ceaselessly, and armed below with a gigantic file consisting of stones, pebbles, and gravel, firmly set in ice, who can wonder that it should grind, furrow, round, and polish the surfaces over which it slowly drags its huge weight. At once destroyer and fertilizer, it uproots and blights hundreds of trees in its progress, yet feeds a forest at its feet with countless streams; it grinds the rocks to powder in its merciless mill, and then sends them down, a fructifying soil, to the wooded shore below.—Page 732.

Respecting the place of glaciers in the economy of nature, he remarks:

One naturally asks, What was the use of this great engine set at work ages ago to grind, furrow, and knead over, as it were, the surface of the earth? We have our answer in the fertile soil which spreads over the temperate regions of the globe. The glacier was God's great plow: and when the ice vanished from the face of the land it left it prepared for the hand of the husbandman. The hard surface of the rocks was ground to powder, the elements of the soil were mingled in fair proportions, granite was carried into the lime regions, lime was mingled with the more arid and unproductive granite districts, and a soil was prepared fit for the agricultural uses of man. I have been asked whether this inference was not inconsistent with the fact that a rich vegetation preceded the ice period—a vegetation sufficiently abundant to sustain the tropical animals then living throughout the temperate regions. But the vegetation which has succeeded the ice-period is of a different character, and one that could not have flourished on a soil that would nourish a more tropical growth.

The soil we have now over the temperate zone is a grain-growing soil—one especially adapted to those plants most necessary to the higher development and social organizations of the human race. Therefore I think we may believe that God did not shroud the world he had made in snow and ice without a purpose, and that this, like many other operations of his providence, seemingly destructive and chaotic in its first effects, is nevertheless a work of beneficence and order.—*Geological Sketches*, Second Series, p. 100.

In 1832 Agassiz became professor of natural history—a place created for him by his countrymen—in the institution at Neufchâtel. From the beginning his success as an instructor was undoubted.

He had indeed now entered upon the work which was to be the occupation and the delight of his life. Teaching was a passion with him, and his power over his pupils could be measured by his own enthusiasm.

Let us see him among the young:

Besides his classes at the Gymnasium Agassiz collected about him, by invitation, a small audience of friends and neighbors, to whom he lectured during the winter on botany, on zoology, on the philosophy of nature. The instruction was of the most familiar and informal character, and was continued in later years for his own children and the children of his friends. . . .

When it was impossible to give the lessons out of doors, the children were gathered around a large table, when each one had before him or her the specimens of the day, sometimes stones and fossils, sometimes flowers, fruit, or dried plants. To each child in succession was explained separately what had first been told to all collectively. The children took their own share in the instruction, and were themselves made to point out and describe that which had just been explained to them. They took home their collections, and, as a preparation for the next lesson, were often called upon to classify and describe some unusual specimen by their own unaided efforts. There was no tedium in the class. Agassiz's clear and attractive method of teaching awakened their own powers of observation in his little pupils, and to some at least opened permanent sources of enjoyment.—Pages 209–211.

He first addressed an American audience at the Lowell Institute, Boston, in 1846. As the institution was liberally endowed the entrance was free, and the tickets were distributed by lot. This audience, composed of strongly contrasted elements, and based upon purely democratic principles, had a marked attraction for Agassiz, who here, for the first time, came in contact with the general mass of the people.

Never was his power as a teacher more evident than in his first course of Lowell lectures. He was unfamiliar with the language, to the easy use of which his two or three visits in England, where most of his associates understood and spoke French, had by no means accustomed him. He would often have been painfully embarrassed but for his own simplicity of character. Thinking only of his subject and never of himself, when a critical pause came he patiently waited for the missing word, and rarely failed to find a phrase which was expressive, if not technically correct. . . . His foreign accent rather added a charm to his address, and the pauses in which he seemed to ask the forbearance of his audience, while he sought to translate his thought for them, enlisted their sympathy. Their courtesy never failed him. His

skill in drawing with chalk on the blackboard was also a great help to him and to them. When his English was at fault, he could nevertheless explain his meaning by illustrations so graphic that the spoken word was hardly missed. He said of himself that he was no artist, and that his drawing was accurate simply because the object existed in his mind so clearly. However this may be, it was always pleasant to watch the effect of his drawings on the audience. When showing, for instance, the correspondence of the articulate type, as a whole, with the metamorphoses of the higher insects, he would lead his listeners along the successive phases of insect development, talking as he drew and drawing as he talked, till suddenly the winged creature stood declared upon the blackboard almost as if it had burst then and there from the chrysalis, and the growing interest of his hearers culminated in a burst of delighted applause.—Pages 404–406.

In the summer of 1848 a party consisting of several of his special Harvard pupils and of some volunteer members, mostly naturalists, went with Agassiz on an expedition to examine the eastern and northern shores of Lake Superior:

Agassiz taught along the road. At evening, around the campfire, or when delayed by weather, he would give to his companions short and informal lectures, it might be on the forest about them, or on the erratic phenomena in the immediate neighborhood—on the terraces of the lake shore, or on the fish of its waters. His lecture-room, in short, was every-where; his apparatus a traveling blackboard and a bit of chalk; while his illustrations and specimens lay all around him wherever the party chanced to be. —Page 463.

In the Summer School of Natural History established at Penikese, in 1872, we see him successfully overcoming obstacles and arranging a place where teachers from our schools and colleges could make their vacations serviceable, both for work and recreation, by the direct study of nature. This scheme of education received its first impulse from Agassiz; younger friends took up the plan and carefully considered and discussed it, but nothing came of it till, in March, the Massachusetts Legislature made their annual visit to the Museum of Comparative Zoology. For the proposed school Agassiz possessed no means, no apparatus, no building, nor a site for one, yet with the undying fervor of his intellectual faith he urged upon the Legislature the embodiment of his ideal project as one of deep interest for science in general, and especially for schools and colleges throughout the land. A wealthy New York merchant read in

the evening paper the appeal spoken in the morning to the Massachusetts Legislature. During the next week he offered Agassiz the island of Penikese, in Buzzard's Bay, with the dwelling-house and barns upon it, as a site for such a school, and $50,000 for its endowment.

Mr. Anderson's gift was received toward the close of March. Before the school could be opened dormitories and laboratories were to be built, and working apparatus provided for fifty pupils and a large corps of teachers, yet the opening of the school was announced for July 8.

Agassiz left Boston on Friday, the 4th of July, for the island. At New Bedford he was met by a warning from the architect that it would be simply impossible to open the school at the appointed date. With characteristic disregard of practical difficulties he answered that it must be possible, for postponement was out of the question. He reached the island on Saturday, the 5th, in the afternoon. The aspect was certainly discouraging. The dormitory was up, but only the frame was completed; there were no floors, nor was the roof shingled. The next day was Sunday. Agassiz called the carpenters together. He told them the scheme was neither for money nor for the making of money; no personal gain was involved in it. It was for the best interests of education, and for that alone. Having explained the object and stated the emergency, he asked whether, under these circumstances, the next day was properly for rest or for work. They all answered, "For work." They accordingly worked the following day from dawn till dark, and at night-fall the floors were laid. On Monday, the 7th, the partitions were put up, dividing the upper story into two large dormitories, the lower into sufficiently convenient working-rooms. . . . When all was done, the large open rooms, with their fresh pine walls, floors, and ceilings, the rows of white beds down the sides, and the many windows looking to the sea, were pretty and inviting enough. If they somewhat resembled hospital wards, they were too airy and cheerful to suggest sickness either of body or of mind.—Page 770.

Agassiz had arranged no programme of exercises, trusting to the interest of the occasion to suggest what might best be said or done. But, as he looked upon his pupils gathered there to study nature with him, by an impulse as natural as it was unpremeditated, he called upon them to join in silently asking God's blessing on their work together. The pause was broken by an address no less fervent than its unspoken prelude.—Page 771.

Here we see Agassiz in an entirely new phase of teaching, among mature men and women, some of whom had been

teachers for years. In this school he not only taught the truths of nature, but taught his pupils how to teach them to their pupils:

> You will find the same elements of instruction all about you, wherever you may be teaching. You can take your classes out, and give them the same lessons, and lead them up to the same subjects you are yourselves studying here. And this mode of teaching children is so natural, so suggestive, so true. That is the charm of teaching from Nature herself. No one can warp her to suit his own views. She brings us back to absolute truth as often as we wander.—Page 775.

Among his assistants at this summer school were some of his oldest friends and colleagues—one, Professor Arnold Guyot, his comrade in earlier years, his companion in many an Alpine excursion. It is pleasant to picture an informal meeting at a little hill, which was their favorite sunset resort, while the whole community listened as these two friends, Agassiz and Guyot, told of their earlier glacial explorations, "one recalling what the other had forgotten, till the scenes lived again for themselves and became almost equally vivid for their listeners."

School girls and boys of to-day are reaping the benefits of the lessons in learning and in teaching given at this summer school at Penikese. If their teacher were not himself one of the pupils here, the influence of such instruction has filtered to him through many rills. The school at Penikese died with its founder, yet its spirit lives anew in many a sea-side laboratory, organized upon the same plan, in many summer schools in botany, and in many field classes of geology.

A few facts of Agassiz's life, to which we have not yet alluded, must close this sketch. He was no financier. "He could never be brought to believe that purely intellectual aims were not also financially sound." In order to have his ichthyological works properly illustrated he burdened himself with an expensive lithographic establishment, and kept for many years his special artist. At one time, just after Cuvier had intrusted his portfolio to his care, thus adding to his "scientific happiness," he felt "in constant terror lest he should be obliged to leave Paris, to give up his investigations on the fossil fishes, and stop work on the costly plates he had begun."

From this sacrifice an unexpected gift from Humboldt of 1,000 francs, a sum given to enable him to pursue his scientific studies "with serenity," saved him for awhile.

The first number of Fossil Fishes was brought out with this help, but the publication of the second, although the plates were finished, was embarrassing him; he could see no way to print a sufficient number of copies before the returns from the first should be paid in. Again scientific friends, knowing nothing of his special needs, came to the rescue. One thousand pounds sterling had been left to the London Geological Society that its interest might be spent "for the encouragement of the science of geology." This amount, known as the Wollaston Prize, was conferred by the society upon Agassiz's Fossil Fishes. This "unexpected honor" and "welcome aid" was received by him with "tears of relief and gratitude." "I need not," he says in a letter to the society, "be ashamed of my penury, since I have spent the little I had wholly in scientific researches."

In 1843 his affairs again reached a crisis. His glacier work and his costly researches in zoology, added to his lithographic establishment, had been beyond his means. In this extremity he wrote to the Prince of Canino:

> I have worked like a slave all winter to finish my Fossil Fishes. You will presently receive my fifteenth and sixteenth numbers. . . . Possibly when my work on the Fossil Fishes is completed the sale of some additional copies may help me to rise again. And yet I have not much hope of this, since all the attempts of my friends to obtain subscriptions for me in France and Russia have failed. . . . The French government takes no interest in work done out of Paris; in Russia such researches are looked upon with indifference. Do you think any position would be open to me in the United States, where I might earn enough to continue the publication of my unhappy books, which never pay their way because they do not meet the wants of the world? —Pages 362, 363.

Another letter to the same correspondent, two months later, announces an excellent piece of news from Humboldt. This savant had interested the king of Prussia in Agassiz's scientific pursuits, particularly the thought of a journey to America, and the king had granted him, for this object, 15,000 francs. He sailed for America in the summer of 1846.

Before coming to America he had planned for a course of

lectures, hoping as a public lecturer "to make additional provision for scientific expenses beyond the allowance he was to receive from the king of Prussia." He wrote to a friend in Europe soon after his arrival:

> Never did the future look brighter to me than now. If I could for a moment forget that I have a scientific mission to fulfill, to which I will never prove recreant, I could easily make more than enough by lectures, which are admirably paid, and are urged upon me, to put me at my ease hereafter. But I will limit myself to what I need to repay those who have helped me through a difficult crisis, and that I can do without even turning aside from my researches. Beyond that all must go again to science—there lies my true mission. I rejoice in what I have been able to do thus far, and I hope that at Berlin they will be satisfied at the results which I shall submit to competent judges on my return.—Page 431.

He never returned. But the Old World did not forget him. A call was received to the recently established University in Switzerland, and its acceptance urged upon the ground of patriotism; the chair of paleontology in the Museum of Natural History in Paris was also offered him, "but gratitude kept him in the New World, where he found such immense territory to explore and such liberal aid in his work."

Not the least attractive among these aids were the vessels of the Coast Survey, which were at his command from Nova Scotia to Mexico, or along the coast of the Pacific. As a guest on these vessels he studied the formation of our New England shores, the reefs of Florida and the Bahama Banks, undertook his first dredging experiments, and made his last long voyage around the continent from Boston to San Francisco.

Another attraction to America was the belief that he could here give form and substance "to the dream of his boyhood and the maturer purpose of his manhood"—the establishment of an ideal museum. In looking over the museums of the Old World, he saw how they failed of this ideal; how they were mere accumulations, gathered at immense expense in the great centers of civilization, yet affording "no clew to the great labyrinth of organic life." He recognized the great good done by the men who had accumulated them, acknowledged that they had done the best possible to them in their day and generation, yet contended that *we* have no longer the right to build after this fashion. "The originality and vigor of one generation become,"

said he, "the subservience and indolence of the next, if we only repeat the work of our predecessors." Let us see his sketch of the true ideal museum:

> If I mistake not, the great object of our museums should be, to exhibit the whole animal kingdom as a manifestation of the Supreme Intellect. Scientific investigation, in our day, should be inspired by a purpose as animating to the general sympathy as was the religious zeal which built the Cathedral of Cologne or the Basilica of St. Peter's. The time is passed when men expressed their deepest convictions by these wonderful and beautiful religious edifices; but it is my hope to see, with the progress of intellectual culture, a structure arise among us which may be a temple of the revelations written in the material universe. If this be so, our buildings for such an object can never be too comprehensive, for they are to embrace the infinite work of Infinite Wisdom. They can never be too costly, so far as cost secures permanence and solidity, for they are to contain the most instructive documents of Omnipotence.—Pages 670, 671.

Even before the settlement of his European debt, Agassiz's desire for the enlargement of scientific knowledge had urged upon him the publication of the mass of original matter which had been accumulating in his hands ever since his arrival in America, but the costliness of a large illustrated work for awhile deterred him. His experience with fossil fishes had shown him the peril of entering upon such an enterprise without capital. An American friend, anxious for the success of this enterprise, proposed an appeal to the public spirit of the country in behalf of a work devoted entirely to the natural history of the United States. This friend "assumed the direction of the business details, set the subscription afloat, stimulated its success by his own liberal contributions, by letters, by private and public appeals, and so completely engineered the plan that though the work as originally designed was never completed, being cut short by ill health, the four large quarto volumes published never embarrassed him financially.

We must very briefly mention only the gifts toward the museum, beginning with the first one from school-girls of $7,000, its legacy from Mr. Gray of $50,000, its legislative grant of $100,000, its private benefactions of over $71,000, its subsequent legislative grants of $10,000, $75,000, and $25,000, and the munificent gift of $100,000, a birthday present to Agassiz given on his last birthday to the institution

he so much loved, to be controlled by no official body, but expended on "collections, publications, or scientific assistance" as he should judge best.

But we must pause sufficiently long to tell how its plan differs from the "accumulation" museums of the Old World; how arrangements are made for the convenience of the casual visitor and of the special student. Such a visitor has an opportunity to walk though exhibition rooms, not simply crowded with objects to delight and interest him, but so arranged that the selection of every specimen has reference to its part and place in nature; while the whole is so combined as to explain, as far as known, the faunal and systematic relations of animals in the actual world, or, in other words, their succession in time and their distribution in space. The special student finds in the laboratories and work rooms all the needed materials for his investigations, stored in large collections, with duplicates enough to allow for that destruction of specimens necessarily involved in original research.

But he did not live to work out his own ideal. His son Alexander, having had those outlines fully explained to him, has carried many of them out, and "the synoptic room, and in great part the systematic and faunal collections, are now arranged and open for exhibition, and the throng of visitors during all the pleasant months of the year attest the interest they excite."

Agassiz passed away on December 14, 1873. His remains were buried at Mt. Auburn. The bowlder that makes his monument came from the glacier of the Aar, not far from the spot where his hut (for glacial investigations) once stood. And the pine trees which are fast growing up to shelter it were sent by loving hands from his old home in Switzerland. The land of his birth and the land of his adoption are united at his grave.

Art. VI.—POLITY OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.*

We have regretted that it has become so much the fashion among Methodists—both ministers and laymen—to abstain from all questions relating to their Church polity. Questions of this character have no doubt sometimes come to be in bad odor by reason of the unhappy uses to which they have been put by injudicious or designing persons, and some have also feared to have them agitated, however carefully and kindly, lest they should become occasions for divisions where harmony is especially desirable, or, at least, for diversions from the all-important specifically spiritual designs of Church affairs. And better still, our people have been so much occupied with practical religious work in the Church, and have been so well satisfied with their occupation, that they have not been much concerned about forms of Church government. All this is good and honorable, and it may largely compensate for any loss incurred by reason of the lack of broader and more intelligent considerations of questions of this nature. But while freely conceding the greater value of the spiritual and practical in Church life, it may still be claimed that the outward affairs of the Church should not be entirely neglected.

We were accordingly gratified when, a short time since, we received a little volume devoted to the subject, or rather, some of its details, "By a Layman" (of Philadelphia), who also gives his name in full at the end of his "Preface," John A. Wright. The name will be readily and favorably recognized as that of a highly respected citizen of our sister city, who, having resided in the South, has come to be familiarly known as "Colonel" Wright. On reading the book, which we did with a lively interest, we found cause to regret that its tone and spirit displayed an unnecessary, and we think an unwarranted, readiness to reflect unfavorably upon certain facts and those who favor them, and to attribute to such persons not only mistaken views, but also unworthy motives. The manifestation of such a spirit in such a case is quite as impolitic as it is uncharitable,

* *Preachers and People of the Methodist Episcopal Church.* By a Layman. 12mo. pp. 314. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company.

since, while there may be a willingness among a portion of the more thoughtful of our people to listen to discussion of the Church's affairs, there is a decided disinclination to have that discussion deformed and embittered by accusations or intimations of corrupt practices or designs. The undeniable success of the work of the Church, especially as a soul-saving agency, makes it certain that, on the whole, its machinery is not very bad, and that it is operated with a fair share of wisdom and zeal and fidelity. It seems, therefore, only just to presume that the workers have very generally been faithful in their actions and purposes, and that this should be practically conceded in all discussions of such a subject.

The title of the book, "People and Preachers of the Methodist Episcopal Church," is suggestive of what seems to be an ever-present thought and feeling in its statements and intimations—that is, of a real antagonism and opposition of purposes between these two classes of persons. In this we have no doubt that the writer is entirely wrong; and yet, because it is with him a conviction and a sentiment, it tends to distort his mind's vision and to color all his observations. And this is the more to be regretted since the subjects discussed are important, and many of the suggestions that are made are entitled to careful, and indeed to favorable, consideration. And therefore, though inclined to be repelled by the querulousness of its tone, and an occasional acerbity of spirit, we have gone through the volume, carefully considering all that it has to say, mentally noting what seems to be its mistakes, and applauding its wise maxims and its valuable practical suggestions. And in that spirit we come now to review the book for the benefit of our readers.

It begins very naturally with what may be styled the *origines* of the Methodist Episcopal Church—the facts of its earliest history, and the principles of its life, which at length developed into the existing organism. Its remarkable growth being a distinguishing and very obvious fact in its career, it was quite pertinent that the cause of that fact should be indicated, and this the author does, no doubt correctly, by ascribing it, "after the acknowledgment that all success comes from God," to "the character of the doctrine preached," "the active co-operation and employment of the laity in religious exercises," "the whole-souled singing," "the religious character and zeal of its minis-

try, and the frequent changes of ministers." All this is approved; and it is further claimed that the effects of these advantages, great as they were, were less than they might have been but for the faultiness of the original form of the Church's governmental polity, that is, the absence of the lay element. The original form of the government of American Methodism was imported from Great Britain, a copy of that exercised by Mr. Wesley in the government of his "societies"—the "assistant," and later the Bishop, taking the place of the great "founder." But when the formal organization took place, at the end of 1784, the ministers in a body, constituting the "Conference," asserted their authority, and so made the aggregate body of traveling preachers the supreme rulers of the Church. The laity were in no condition to participate to any extent in either the legislation or the administration of the affairs of the body; and as to its judicature, there was none, for the members were "read in" or "read out" of the Church by the minister at discretion. This seems to be recognized by our author when he says: "The peculiarities of the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and the distribution of power, are, perhaps, more immediately due to the fact that the early ministers were evangelists, and that the form of the government of the Church slowly crystallized on the basis of the most effective evangelistic work." Since the laity were at first in no condition to take any part in the administration, the whole necessarily devolved on the ministers. But just as fast as the laity became capable of receiving and using administrative power in the Church, it was given to them, and the history of the Church is a continuous record of the advance of the participation of the laity in the government; and in every case the increase of their power came by the ready, and more than willing, concession of the ministry. The sovereignty must abide somewhere, and the liberty-loving fathers of the Christmas Conference chose to diffuse it as widely as possible, and so they placed it in the whole body of the ministers in Conference assembled. And in the same spirit their sons in the Gospel have gone onward, diffusing more and more widely the governing power. And if it shall at any time become clearly apparent that a still wider diffusion is practicable, there is good reason for believing that it will be freely made.

Respecting the distribution of governmental power in the Church between ministers and laymen, our author hints and implies, rather than openly affirms, that any given number of ministers are entitled to no more authority than the same number of the laity, male and female—that the ideal Church government is that of a pure democracy, in which each member stands on the same footing, and no one can possess any larger share of power, except as it has been given to him by the votes of the brotherhood. By this rule, he tells us, the proportion of ministers to laymen (including, of course, women) would be not much more than one to a hundred and fifty. But, it may be asked, why discriminate between ministers and laymen at all, if there is no real distinction as to rights in government, and then probably the proportion of laymen in the General Conference would be less rather than greater than it now is. In not a few instances Lay Electoral Conferences have preferred to be represented by ministers.*

The assertion that "a call to the ministry does not carry with it any power in the management of the Church itself," may mean much or little according as it shall be construed; but as the writer does not apply it in his argument, we need not stop to determine either its scope or its correctness. Nor do we see the offensive "priestly arrogance" and "high-Churchism without limitation" in the newspaper paragraph quoted by him, which says: "Whatever the legislation on the subject, ministers will be in the future, as they have been in the past, practically the legislators and the executive officers of the Church; and why should they not be?" Sure enough, why not, if

* If the Church is to be governed on purely democratic principles, then there should be an entire disregard of the distinction of ministers and laymen in the selection of delegates; the local churches should be grouped in electoral districts, each district to choose its delegate by a free ballot, just as members of Congress are chosen by the people. But with such an arrangement it is probable that there would be a larger proportion of ministers in the General Conference than there is at present, for, if the selections were to be made simply from personal and professional considerations, the ministers would, in nearly all cases, have the advantage. In not a few instances our Lay Electoral Conferences have chosen ordained local preachers, and, in some cases, men who had been traveling preachers. In both of the two General Conferences of 1876 and 1880 the same man was present as a delegate—first as a ministerial and next as a lay delegate. It is known, too, that William Taylor was a lay delegate in the General Conference that elected him to the position which he now holds.

chosen by the electors, as pretty surely they would be if the elections were conducted on purely democratic principles? The additional sentence of the same paragraph explains why ministers would in any probable case come to the front and appear as leaders in Church work: "It is pre-eminently their work, as overseers of God's heritage, and they ought to attend to it." Waiving any question respecting a divine right of government, the fact that ministers are in the front in all Church affairs, will secure to them a predominating influence, for "my people love to have it so."

Seeming to concede, at least practically, that there should be an equal division of power between the ministry and the laity in the councils of the Church, which is a recognition of the distinct and relatively larger powers of ministers, *ex officio*, over those of the same number of laymen, our author still finds that great injustice ensues from the constitution of the General Conference. In that body at its last session there were 263 ministers and only 154 laymen. The complaint is just, provided an equal distribution of seats is a *natural* right—which the law does not concede—and that the laity as a distinct class should have equal power with the ministry. This last is secured by their right to a separate vote. Nor do the laity ask this; but instead, the lay delegates in the last two General Conferences voted against any increase of the proportion of their own order in the General Conference, and also against their admission into the Annual Conferences. Respecting the right or the expediency of these measures, we say nothing (this writer, as a delegate in those Conferences, voted for both of them), but it is not just to represent the defeat of those measures to the "grasping" after power by the ministers. Had the lay delegates agreed to ask for the proposed changes, there is good reason to believe that they would have been made. They were not made because the laymen opposed them.

In discussing the constitution of the General Conference, as to both its ministerial and lay delegates, our author brings into view certain rather remarkable anomalies—which have been, however, all along recognized and deprecated—in the practical operations of the law regulating the apportionment of seats to delegates from the Annual Conferences.

The fundamental law, which ordains the existence of the

General Conference and indicates its personal constitution and describes its powers, first of all declares that that body "shall be composed of ministerial and lay delegates, and that the [body of] ministerial delegates shall consist of one delegate for every forty-five members of each Annual Conference," with a provision made in another place that "when there shall be in any Annual Conference a fraction of two thirds of the number which shall be fixed for the ratio of representation, such Annual Conference shall be entitled to an additional delegate for such fraction," and a further provision is made, that "no Conference [however small in numbers] shall be denied the privilege of one delegate." This rule, which seems at first sight to be just and wise, shows some less favorable features in its practical operations. The large central Conferences of the Middle Atlantic States average one ministerial delegate to forty-eight or fifty members, while in the smaller Conferences, situated in the South, and on the Western frontier, and in foreign countries, the average ratio of ministerial delegates to members is one to about thirty-five. And in respect to lay delegates this disproportion is very much greater. Nine Annual Conferences, with an aggregate lay membership of nearly three hundred and fifty thousand, are entitled to only eighteen lay delegates, and thirty-seven other Annual Conferences, with an aggregate membership of less than one half of that number, have forty-three lay delegates—the former at the ratio of one lay delegate for about 19,000 lay members; the latter one for less than 3,500. It may seem invidious to say any thing about the relative value *per capita* of the ministers and members, and of their delegates, from these two classes of Conferences, but all will concede that the ministers and laymen in the older and larger Conferences are entitled to as much influence or consideration as their brethren in the newer and smaller ones.* These ine-

*There are 10 foreign missions organized as Annual Conferences: 1. Germany and Switzerland; 2. Foochow (China); 3. Italy; 4. Japan; 5. Liberia; 6. Mexico; 7. North India; 8. South India; 9. Norway; 10. Sweden. In these there are altogether 385 ministers, which would, *pro rata*, entitle them to eight ministerial delegates instead of the 11 awarded to them (one each, except the first, which had two). The combined lay membership of these 10 Conferences was a little less than 30,000, making constituencies for three lay delegates, the third representing a fraction, instead of 11, the number to which they were by law entitled. The delegations from these bodies, considered as a whole, were just double their

qualities, which have come about unsought for and undesigned, have, however, grown to such proportions that they seriously derange the representation of the Church in the General Conference. But while all will grant that they call for a readjustment, no one has, as yet, seemed to be able to find out a way to satisfactorily solve the difficulty. The volume before us, while displaying and denouncing these anomalies, brings forward no scheme for even their mitigation, much less for their cure, which is not much more objectionable than the evils now prevailing, because of the revolutionary and wholly un-Methodistic character of the measure proposed.

The processes by which this anomalous condition of things has come to be, though not written down in our histories, nor much discussed in the public prints, are not difficult to trace, since they have occurred during the life-time of many who are still living. Previous to the General Conference of 1868 there was a class of ecclesiastical bodies in the Church called

equitable proportions. There were in the United States in 1884 (the number has since been increased) 26 Annual Conferences, each entitled to one ministerial and one lay delegate—26 of each order, 52 in all. In these Conferences there were about 1,000 ministers, forming in the aggregate a constituency for 22 ministerial delegates, which is four less than the number assigned by law, which was, therefore, one sixth too large. The lay members in all these Conferences amounted to less than 104,000, a constituency for 10 delegates, instead of 26. There were seven Americo-German Conferences, with an aggregate ministerial membership of 476, and a lay membership of less than 41,000. There were also a Swedish and a Norwegian Conference, with a joint membership of 79 ministers and 8,102 of the laity, making for the nine Conferences 555 ministers, constituencies for 12 delegates, which was the number actually on hand; the equitable number of lay delegates would have been nine instead of 12. There were 14 Conferences composed wholly or chiefly of colored members, with an aggregate membership of 833 ministers and 125,463 lay members, entitling them numerically to 19 and 11 delegates respectively, instead of 22 each, their legal allotment. Tabulated, these things show the following:

	By Law.		By Numbers.		
	Min.	Lay.	Min.	Lay.	Excess.
Ten Foreign Missionary Conferences	11	11	8	3	11
Twenty-six Small Conferences	26	26	22	10	20
Nine German Conferences	12	12	12	5	7
Fourteen Colored Conferences	22	22	19	11	14
	71	71	61	29	52

Compare with the above the seven largest Conferences: Philadelphia, with 47,476 lay members; New York East, 45,181; New York, 44,182; East Ohio, 44,287; Central Pennsylvania, 36,908; New Jersey, 35,346; Newark, 34,550: aggregate, 288,130; and yet these great Conferences were entitled to only two lay delegates each—14 in all—or less than one to 20,000 members.

"Mission Conferences." The first of these, in the order of time, was Liberia, which had previously existed as a foreign mission, with only the rights of the presiding elder's district, but which was, by the General Conference of 1836, constituted a "Mission Conference," with all the rights of an Annual Conference, *except the right of representation in a General Conference*, and one or two other slight exceptions. In 1848 the work in Oregon and California was also organized as a "Mission Conference," with the same limitations of power; and in 1864 provision was made for the organization of two similar Conferences of colored members; and it was also ordered at the same time that the Bishops should have authority to organize Annual Conferences—with the same limitations of powers—in the States and Territories outside of any existing Annual Conferences. This was done; and the whole unoccupied area of the country, except that of the Rocky Mountains, was covered with such organizations. At the opening of the General Conference of 1868 there appeared before that body, certainly not by any accidental coincidence, representatives from nearly every one of these bodies, asking to be admitted as delegates; and in open disregard of the plainly written and well-understood laws of the Church, both statutory and constitutional, they were admitted; and, afterward, all the limitations of power in the Mission Conferences were removed. "This was the beginning of sorrows." The admission of lay delegates in 1872 doubled the representation of these small and outlying bodies, and their number has also greatly increased with the expansion of the Church's work; and out of these things have grown naturally the anomalous state of the representation of the Church in the General Conference.

The inequalities of the present scheme of apportioning the lay delegates among the Annual Conferences is sufficiently obvious, and certainly they are such as to demand that some remedy for them shall be devised. But our ecclesiastical statesmen who have especially concerned themselves with these matters, have never seemed to be equal to their requirements. They who remember the General Conference of 1868 cannot have forgotten the kind of monstrosity that was brought forth by the Committee of Lay Delegation—a scheme whose absurdities can be appreciated only after a careful examination

of the document itself; and yet so intent were the friends of the measure that something should be done—and the Conference was warned by the "reformers" that no constitutional difficulties would be permitted to effectually bar its course—that they were ready to accept almost any thing that would "concede the principle," leaving to the future the correction of any infelicities in the details of the measures to be adopted. There were those in that body, however, who still had some respect for the constitutional law of the Church, and who could not see by what authority the General Conference, itself a delegated body, could reconstruct itself, and those were therefore very solicitous that whatever might be attempted in respect to the admission of a new order of delegates should be done according to law. They had seen how ready a majority of the body were to disregard the fundamental law by which the General Conference is constituted, when they admitted to membership in that body a class of men who had never been chosen to any such place, and behind whom there were no legal constituencies, while some of them were personally disqualified for the places to which they were admitted, and therefore it might seem doubtful whether the flagrantly revolutionary character of the committee's scheme would suffice to prevent its adoption. The plan which at length took the place of that proposed by the committee, and was adopted by the General Conference, was prepared by persons not of the committee, and with whom it was a governing purpose to conserve the constitutional law of the Church; and it was considered by those who devised it as only a temporary expedient, and both defective in its organic basis, because it made no provision for a real representation of the laity of the Church, and also incomplete at almost every point of its details. It was intended by its friends, and those who were the most earnest friends of lay delegation, to serve only as a temporary make-shift, by which "the principle" might be adopted, with the expectation that very soon its many and obvious imperfections would be remedied. It was accordingly sent down to the Annual Conferences by that General Conference, and, in pursuance of its provisions, in 1872 lay delegates were admitted to seats in the General Conference. Every one who understood the case at all confessed the faultiness of the law as it then stood, but no one un-

dertook to remedy its defects. The same person who now writes these words wrote out, in the form in which it stands, with only the slightest changes, the fundamental law of the Church under the authority of which laymen have occupied seats in the last four General Conferences. When he proposed, among those who prepared that paper, to make the number of lay delegates the same with that of the ministers, they of the company who were the recognized friends of the new scheme said, "Not now"—fearing that asking so much would defeat the whole; and when it was further proposed to give a really representative character to the lay delegates, by providing for the choice of the lay electors by the votes of the whole Church, that too was objected to as impracticable—perhaps, indeed, undesirable. The Church has no doubt profited by the presence of certain laymen having seats in its chief council, which has perhaps been compensated for by some real disadvantages; but the rank and file of the Church—the unofficial laity, men and women—have now really no more formal representation in the body than had their fathers and mothers of fifty years ago. And some such may suspect that they were quite as well represented by their ministers, whom they knew, and who knew them, as they are by strangers of whom they have never heard. We do not, however, speak of this thing as an evil—certainly not as an occasion for blame—but to recognize a fact. The Church lived and prospered before there was any pretense of lay delegation in its councils, and it has continued to prosper since the change has been made—whether by the help of, or in spite of, or irrespective of, lay delegation, need not concern us—and there is good reason to believe that it will continue to prosper, either with or without further modifications of its organic law, about which evidently the people generally care very little. Our people, both ministers and the laity, seem to be too well suited with their spiritual privileges, and too much occupied with their active duties, to very much concern themselves with questions of Church polity.

We are not, however, at all inclined to treat the matters brought to view in the volume before us as of no account, and we repeat the expression of our gratification that such a book has been written, though we would have preferred that its temper should have been a little less censorious, and especially that

its uncalled-for, and, we believe, essentially unjust, imputations of unworthy purposes had been avoided. We are free to confess, that the fundamental law of the Church by which the *personnel* of the General Conference is provided for does not operate entirely satisfactorily; that the apportionment of seats in the body is, in practice, inequitable; that the classes of persons upon whom the practical effectiveness of the Church's work must chiefly depend are the most scantily represented; that those whose relations and positions and associations are the least intimately connected with the great interests of the Church are endowed with much more than their due proportion of numerical strength in the great council of the Church. Some practical mitigation of these confessed infelicities of affairs seems to us, therefore, to be called for. But having gone thus far with those who have gone before us in the recognition of these infelicities, as they have all done, so do we, —stop and ask, What can be done? The deficiencies in the plan at first adopted for bringing in lay delegation not only remain, but they are now very greatly magnified by the changed condition of the Church's affairs, and they have become so monstrous that they ought not to be tolerated.

The evil of small Annual Conferences, with disproportionately large representations in General Conference, is entirely within the power of the administration. The twenty-two delegates from foreign missions have their places by virtue of a set of legislative and administrative acts, adopted under certain strange influences which were neither wise nor wholesome; and this unwise and unwholesome order of things has been perpetuated till it now threatens to become unendurable. A spirit of ecclesiastical "jingoism" seems to have seized the mind of the Church some twenty years ago, which aspired to universal empire for our own denomination, and expressed itself in the dream of "a session of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church under the dome of St. Peter's, at Rome." It will be wise if, in a more sober frame of mind, we shall have the moral courage to undo this folly, and return to the spirit of the fathers who called their new organization the "Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States." It would be manifestly better for both the foreign missions and the Church at home that the former, when grown beyond their

state of pupilage, should set up for themselves, and become localized and naturalized in their own lands. That policy carried into practice would remove the evil of the non-equitable representation as found at one of the places of its most unnatural developments.

The multiplication of small and feeble Conferences in the United States has certainly been carried to a most unreasonable and damaging extent. Small Conferences are liable to be very weak bodies, and they will, of necessity, perform their work feebly, and often dangerously improperly. It is not strange, therefore, that under the advice of their own best men some of these diminutive bodies have sought to be merged with some others, or to be changed from the status of a Conference to that of a mission district, which is a form of organization nearly akin to the repudiated "Mission Conferences." A judicious exercise of the administrative power of the General Conference in this department of its work might very considerably reduce the number of small and feeble Conferences of the Church, and, in doing this needed work, also mitigate the evils arising from the inequalities in the representation in the General Conference. By these two methods our hundred Annual Conferences might be reduced to seventy-five or eighty to the advantage of the usual work of the Church, and also to the better adjustment of the representation. His suggestions that some means must be found by which to get rid of the "Brother in Black" may, perhaps, be traced back to certain "south side" associations of our Philadelphia brother, but they will not be likely to find favor with the Church generally, nor with either of its racial sections. We have gone too far in that direction to retreat from our positions without bad faith and dishonor. Even our successes have brought upon us obligations the most sacred to abide faithful to, and to continue to labor strenuously for, those whom we have taken into our family. If our colored brethren are too largely represented in the General Conference the fault is not of their devising; and should a more equitable system, applying alike to all parts of the Church and to all classes of persons, be devised and propounded, there is no reason to believe that they would not cordially agree to it.

These, it is granted, are only expedients for relieving pres-

ent embarrassments, without touching the deeper and more difficult infelicities of the subject; but to consider these adequately would carry us beyond our assigned limits. The inequality of numbers between the two orders of delegates in the General Conference, though it deserves to be considered, is rendered of less importance by reason of the privilege of voting by orders, and thus mutually checking the opposite vote, should class interests bring them into opposition.

Opposition to the increase of the number of lay delegates in the General Conference, so as to make them equal to the ministers, has been urged on a number of distinct grounds: It would make the body too large—about 550 members in 1884—so rendering the body less able to deliberate and act wisely and judiciously, and also greatly increasing its expense. The plea sometimes heard, that laymen could pay their own expenses, is to many especially objectionable, since it implies that only rich men can afford to be delegates—an evil that is already somewhat felt. The proposition to reduce the number of ministerial delegates by increasing the basis of representation would still further aggravate the evil of the over-representation of the smaller Conferences; it would also, it is claimed, effectually destroy the properly representative character of ministerial delegates; and, since to make that change requires the affirmative votes of three fourths of all the traveling preachers, the probability of its success, if attempted, is exceedingly doubtful. The evil lies deeper than such remedies can reach, and its cure calls for more radical treatment.

In respect to the introduction of laymen to seats in the Annual Conference, it is notable that the subject seems never to have awakened much interest, and it was voted down in both of the last two General Conferences, and in both cases by the lay delegates—in the latter one the two orders voting separately. The manner in which our friend Colonel Wright speaks of this subject, charging its defeat to the opposition of the ministry, makes it necessary for us to conclude that he is not well informed as to the history of the case, for we cannot suspect him of a willful misrepresentation, though he evidently writes in no friendly animus toward "the parsons." If he will consult the Journal of the General Conference of 1880 (page 310), and that of 1884 (page 260), he will be con-

vinced, not only that he is in error, but also that he has been misled into bearing incorrect testimony as to matters of fact, with the deduction of unjust inferences, for in both these cases the opposition in the discussion was led by laymen, who also contributed their full share to the negative vote. From the beginning of the agitation of the subject we have personally favored the introduction of laymen into the Annual Conferences, because there is work in those bodies for them to do, and which they can best perform; and through the lay delegates in the constituent Conferences the development of a system of real lay representation might have come about as a normal growth. But Annual Conferences are *working* bodies, and afford not much opportunity for display or for sight-seeing, and somehow our lay brothers have not been drawn toward them, nor to the District Conferences, in which they might operate to excellent effect.

Chapter third of Mr. Wright's book, of over forty pages, is devoted to a discussion of the "Charitable Work of the Church," and of "its Publishing Interests." As it is very desirable that our people, both ministers and laymen, who are not themselves officially concerned with these things, should feel an interest in them, and that there should be great freedom of examination and criticism as to their methods and processes and results, we are well pleased that our brother has directed his attention to these things; and for the same reason we regret that such are his prepossessions, that he is evidently disqualified for coming to any fair and intelligent conclusions respecting that of which he writes. Most of these "benevolent" agencies of the Church originated as voluntary "societies," which were afterward, at their own solicitation, adopted by the General Conference, and so made parts of the regular working machinery of the Church. As "societies," with their membership scattered over every part of the country, it was physically impossible to bring the body together for the transaction of business, or the election of officers. And yet the fiction of annual meetings was long continued, at which a quorum of a score of members, brought together by special efforts for that purpose, would by their votes, using regularly prepared tickets, give validity to the elections of officers. But how absurd to claim that these twenty or thirty persons gathered up for the

nonce, were in any proper sense the laity of the Methodist Episcopal Church! The infelicity of this mode of procedure was all along recognized, but so long as the General Conference consisted exclusively of ministers, there was an unwillingness on its part to assume the complete control of those bodies by shaping their constitutions and appointing their officers. But in 1872, after the composition of the body had become laic as well as ministerial—when in theory at least, though in fact only by a legal fiction—the entire laity of the Church had come into the General Conference in the persons of the lay delegates, then introduced, the formerly existing objection to its assumption of the control of those bodies seemed to be removed. Accordingly the

> General Conference of 1872 adopted the plan of boards of managers to be appointed by the [General] Conference, *in place of managers elected by the societies to conduct their affairs*, ostensibly for the purpose of bringing these societies "into organic union with the Church, instead of being under the uncertain control of members made such by voluntary contributions."—Page 144.

The foregoing quotation fairly indicates the facts of the case, with a suggestion of the reasons why such action was taken; but the intimation that all this was brought about "in compliance with the wish of the clique of office-holders at 805 Broadway, New York," for purposes equally insincere and unjust, is about equally uncharitable and preposterous. The conception of such suspicions indicates a state of mind that we do not wish to characterize. The "office-holders" in compliance with whose wishes this arrangement was made were probably, more than all others, Dr. Durbin and Bishop Janes. The former of these two venerable and now sainted men was then just closing his long and very fruitful career in the service of the Church, and especially of its missionary work, and his whole history shows that he was not himself disposed to exalt the ministry by sacrificing the rights of the laity. Bishop Janes was especially active in promoting these changes. He knew the infelicities and the liabilities to abuses of the old system, and he also believed that these great benevolent organisms should be immediately and constructively wrought into the organism of the Church, of which the General Conference had now become by its composition the completed embodiment.

Nor had he any fear of too much centralization of power; in respect to which last, some who were in accord with him as to the measures under notice were a little more distrustful. The Church will be slow to conclude that these grand men, Durbin and Janes, acted in such highly important affairs, with their far-reaching relations, from sinister motives, and with intent to defraud the laity of the Church of their rights.

But the most preposterous count in this strange indictment is, the charge that of these changes "the real object was to get rid of any possible opposition by the laity to the absolute control of these societies by the ministers of the Church." Should we concede all that is intimated in respect to the designs of the promoters of these measures, that their dominant purpose was to unduly exalt the ministers over the laity, that making them "was an insult to their [the laity's] Christian manhood," and that the argument for it was "a miserable apology for a great wrong," still we would fail to see wherein the measures adopted accomplish the purposes of their authors. By the amended constitution adopted at that time, the Board of Managers of the Missionary Society (the old name "Society" was retained, though only to express a legal fiction) was made to consist of an equal number of ministers and laymen, which unalterably secures the equality of the two orders in the body, unless the Bishops, who are *ex officio* members, are included among the partisan ministers. How then these things can be said to have placed the "boards under the control of the ministry," or why it should be said that in their constitution "the ministers have guarded every point . . . so as to prevent the laity from having any influence in its legislation" [administration?], and that there is great "danger in leaving the control of these interests in the hands of the ministry," we entirely fail to understand. How a board of managers made up of an equal number of the two orders should be placed entirely under the control of one of these, leaving the other half helpless, we confess our inability to understand. We therefore read with surprise and blank astonishment such a sentence as this:

> This violently taking out of the hands of the laity the control of the charities of the Church, without notice to the members of the societies, and placing them almost absolutely under the control

of the ministry, was a great wrong, not only to the laity and the Church, but to the cau-e of Jesus Christ, and [it] was followed by other acts of questionable character.—Page 145.

All through the book there is an ever-present assumption, open or tacit, that in all the legislative and administrative bodies of the Church in which there are both ministers and laymen there is a clearly defined and a constantly effective antagonism between the two orders, than which nothing can be farther from the truth. During a service of nearly forty years in the Missionary Board, this writer has never seen the two orders in that body divided, as such, on any question great or small; nor have we ever heard of any thing of the kind in respect to any other of the Church's boards. Such declarations as the following—and these are only specimens of a great multitude found all through the book—are equally incorrect and unjust:

They [the ministers] hang together and defend each other; their class feeling and jealousy of the interference of laymen are quickly excited. All laymen who have been members of boards of managers in any religious or church society understand what this class feeling means, and how thoroughly it operates *to prevent the proper examination of finances*, of management, and of policy.—Page 149.

This is, indeed, a grave impeachment, and it involves either purposed and systematic fraud in the use of funds on the one hand, or gratuitous defamation on the other. Between the two, let those concerned decide.

The latter half of chapter third is devoted to "the Publishing Interests" of the Church; and while the disposition to find faults, and to refer these to unworthy and corrupt motives in the ministers, is still prominent, it nevertheless discusses a range of thought that ought to be seriously pondered. In the prosecution of its aggressive work, the use of the press has been an ever present factor in all forms of Methodism, for which policy very satisfactory and cogent reasons are given. It may also be claimed that the publishing interests of the Methodist Episcopal Church have been, on the whole, successfully and satisfactorily managed. The present generation found the "Book Concern" an established fact—an agency in full operation—which has simply been kept going with only such modifications as seemed to be called for by the changes of its

conditions. Whether or not it would be deemed advisable, were the work now to be undertaken anew, to originate a complete printing establishment and manufactory of books, is not the question to be considered; but instead, whether, now that these are in successful operation, it would be wise to discontinue their use, and have all the work of the Book Concern done by outside parties? To make such a change has not been deemed advisable, and so the prescriptive order of things has continued. Our observations, extending over a quarter of a century, and made at short range, while they have begotten great confidence in the integrity of the administration, and a corresponding cautiousness in respect to violent changes, have also given rise to a feeling that the whole subject of the publishing interests of the Church needs to be thoroughly re-examined. As a financial operation it has been eminently successful, which fact sufficiently disposes of the objection, often heard, to ministers as book agents, and also to the mode of their appointment. In respect to the higher purposes of supplying a wholesome religious and general literature, it has accomplished a good work, though not all that is both desirable and, we believe, also practicable. The policy of making all the newspapers of the denomination, as far as possible, "official," to be owned and governed by the Church, is a subject respecting which very much may be advanced both for it and against it. There can be no question that it was, at first, mightily effective in building up the periodical press of the Church, and in carrying a valuable kind of Christian literature to multitudes, and large classes, of readers that could not have been reached with nearly the same thoroughness by any other means. And up to a certain elevation the system was, no doubt, favorable to the growth of the literary character of the papers, and, through them, to the education of the masses of Methodism; but it may be doubted whether *official* papers can possibly attain to the best capabilities of that class of publications.

We once heard Dr. Olin remark—speaking thoughtfully, but not complainingly—that the use of an exclusively official newspaper press by our people was full of peril. Court journals and official bulletins are not the best vehicles for political intelligence, and especially not for the discussion of either the principles of government or the acts of the administration; and

although the position of an official editor is as free as he dares to make it, there is still the liability that his environments will circumscribe the free expression of his convictions, and so compel him to fall below his own best possibilities: in short, to become, not a free inquirer and critic, but an "advocate"—a *martinet* rather than a *free lance.* Some may think that this is just what an official editor should be; but, if so, then surely other than official papers are desirable. These things are canvassed with no little force and freedom by our author; and while the same mingled acidity and acridity that have been noticed in other places still abound—and with these are manifest some very decided partisan predilections respecting certain well-remembered facts—still his remarks are suggestive, and the subject presented calls for the most candid, and not timid, consideration.

The things that we have noticed form the chief features of the work we are considering. At every point we detect the assumption that the entire government of the Church, in all its departments, is in the hands of the ministers, who stand together as a party to assist and defend their exclusive privileges; while the laity, also arrayed as a party against the ministers, are utterly helpless. To all this the law of the Church and the administration of its affairs render the sufficient answer. The right of the laity to equal representation in the General and Annual Conferences, and the expediency of that arrangement for the best interests of the Church, are insisted upon with perpetual iterations, all of which may or may not be granted; but the further assumption, that this consummation has not been reached because of the self-seeking resistance of the ministry, is so clearly disproved by the record, that its assertion can be excused only on a presumption of ignorance, which itself would be, in such case, scarcely excusable. In two successive General Conferences the lay delegates successfully resisted the introduction of laymen into the Annual Conferences, which a large minority of the ministerial delegates (this writer among them) favored. And the proposition, made in the last General Conference, to equalize the numbers of the two orders in that body received its *coup de grâce* from the same hands. How, with these things certainly not unknown by him, our good brother can write as he does is beyond our com-

prehension. He is certainly all wrong; and yet we hesitate to charge it to any lack of either intelligence or truthfulness.

In his closing chapter our author gives a brief sketch of the form of government for the Methodist Episcopal Church that he would favor. It is a rough outline, drawn on a *tabula rasa*, made up of ideals that have never been realized—like one of the Abbe Sieyès's French constitutions—the whole proposed in complete oblivion of the practical truth that constitutions, in order to have any available vitality, must grow instead of being made to order—that they must come as developments rather than by creation. Many of his suggestions are good enough in themselves, and some of them might be advantageously grafted into the existing system; others, though not essentially bad, would be found incompatible and out of harmony with its genius; while not a few of them are alike impracticable and undesirable. With remarkable *naiveté* our good but critical reformer, with abounding good feeling toward his erring brethren, the ministers (except the old and incorrigible ones), in a single paragraph seeks to express at once the spirit and the purpose of his production. We extend to him the privilege to speak for himself:

> It is hoped that these pages will be of service to those in the ministry who in all good conscience have been led astray in their judgment, by opening their eyes to the existence of facts and dangers they may not have seen. To the younger and abler men in the ministry (*sic*) it opens a way by which they may escape from the humiliating process of being kept down and hampered in their usefulness to make way for unacceptable men who demand the best places. To active ministers it secures the honors as well as the burdens, and places them on a higher platform by recognizing that the work of the pastor is the highest on earth.—Page 311.

Pro Christo, pro ecclesia, pro populo!

EDITORIAL MISCELLANY.

CURRENT TOPICS.

A "NEW ORTHODOXY."

THEY who have observed the drift of theological speculation in the Reformed or Calvinistic Churches, of both Europe and America, know very well that changes have occurred since the promulgation of the Westminster standards that in the aggregate amount to a revolution. These changes have been especially conspicuous in this country, since the Old Orthodoxy, was at first very clearly and forcibly declared, especially in New England, and there it was at length repudiated by the unorthodox; and more recently it has been modified out of its identity by some who still claim to be, in spirit, faithful to the traditions of the fathers. The appropriation of the term and style of the New Orthodoxy to their own little coterie by the professors and adherents of a single theological seminary (Andover) is not warranted; for neither is their one distinctive article, Future Probation, original with them, nor is that article the distinguishing feature of the system. Back of that is the more general question of individual freedom and responsibility, with the attendant condition of a "fair chance;" and that applied with scant respect for the divine element in the affairs of the soul, it is contended, calls for a properly conditioned probation for every one, Christian or heathen, and logically it ought to include infants and imbeciles, though here we notice a marked reticence. It is conceded by those who contend for it that the idea of probation after death is not very clearly taught in the Scriptures, and its support is not after the nature of a direct and positive proof, but rather it is an implication, so clear and direct, it is claimed, as to be unavoidable, if its premises are granted.

The unadulterated Old Orthodoxy embraced among its essential elements the eternal decrees of unconditional election and reprobation, of which decrees the events of the world's history are only the normal and necessary developments. Adam's sin and Christ's atonement were equally parts of the system. This simple putting of the case, which many think is the only logical one if absolute predestination must be accepted at all, has not been found generally acceptable. It was rather disfavored by both the Synod of Dort and the Westminster Assembly, though many of the master minds in both of these venerable bodies accepted the manifest logical outcome of their own premises. And now for more than two hundred years the "Reformed" theology of Protestantism has been moving like the sure trend of a glacier, slowly, steadily, and irresistibly, away from its original position. An observation, by sun and stars, would seem now to be necessary to determine its latitude and longitude, while refer-

ences to the headlands of other forms of theology may be requisite to ascertain its place in the comparative orthodoxy of the times.

This transition of thought in so large and able a body of Christians, and one which has held so conspicuous a place on the better side, in the conflicts that have been carried on about the great truths of religion, cannot but be a matter of the deepest interest. The discussion has come to a stage in which it is no longer confined to speculative matters, but instead, it touches upon the great and vital principles of experimental and practical religion. Our old and respectable churches and their ministers are no longer content to simply proclaim what they presume to be God's truth, and there leave the matter; they have, instead, become aggressive revivalists, and they are especially and intensely concerned about the results of the preaching of the Gospel in the life and experience of those to whom it is sent. They are accordingly discussing the nature of "the conviction of sin," and this naturally leads them to the consideration of the nature of sin itself, including the fundamental distinction between *sin* and *sins*. And then man's duty under that conviction becomes an important practical consideration, as does also the nature of faith, and the relations of the individual to its saving work. The substance of regeneration, and the shares severally of the divine and the human agencies in that work, here come into view; and back of these, the crabbed philosophical conceptions of free-will and its opposites or modifications will thrust themselves into view.

It is quite natural, therefore, that these subjects should awaken a very lively interest, and elicit not a little lively discussion. We have been meeting them in periodicals and books during the past months and years, and are free to grant that the tendency toward a better appreciation of the matters in hand is, on the whole, gratifying: nor will we indulge in any words of triumph because the tendency has been all along to a nearer and nearer approach to the doctrines that have from the beginning sounded out from the Methodist pulpit. But lately our attention has been especially drawn to these things by the reading of a single issue of "The Independent," which perhaps better than any other paper is an index to the course of the thought of the times. To three distinct matters in that paper we will now give attention.

First of all comes an article from the pen of Dr. Theodore Cuyler, responding to one whom he designates "An Honest Inquirer," asking for practical directions in respect to his duty as one who is not a Christian in experience, though he is in no sense an intellectual unbeliever. It is very easy to answer such a one in the words of the apostle, "Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved," but that would probably be to him no real answer at all; for, in the first place, the inquirer would have no adequate notion as to what *faith* is; and next, if he had that, he would still find himself spiritually incapable of its exercise. While Dr. Cuyler wisely abstains from any attempt to teach the way of faith through the understanding, to our seeming he still mistakes, perhaps not less dangerously, when he proposes to make the operation of faith

effectual by personal obedience. It is quite safe to declare that "yielding the heart" is not identical with the faith that saves the soul, though it is very nearly related to it; and were it so, to yield the heart is a work that calls for much more than the natural will-power of the individual; and therefore we should hesitate without a very careful definition of terms to subscribe to his statement—"It is a *doing* that must save you," for the faith that saves is only in its last and least manifestations a *doing* at all.

And then the purposed interposition of *repentance* and *holiness* as prominent conditions essential to salvation, is not quite in harmony with Paul's doctrine of justification "without the deeds of the law," or our Lord's unqualified declaration that "He that believeth on the Son hath [not shall have] eternal life." The illustration used by Dr. Cuyler, of escaping from a burning building by trusting one's self to a rope, is not a happy one in respect to salvation by faith, for that would be an act of desperation, and quite compatible with a large share of doubt, or even of positive unbelief. The awakened sinner may be impelled to think of Christ as a Saviour, and to reckon him the only hope for lost men, while as yet he is without the truly Christian faith in which the saving power abides. When the soul accepts Christ, it is not that—at that supreme moment—he still does so with some uncertainty in respect to his sufficiency. Christ is accepted without any lingering misgivings as amply sufficient, and as neither needing nor admitting any other condition or trust. "Only Christ" is always the language of faith, with assured and steadfast hope, never of despair. It is not a venturing *on* the rope, which after all might break, because there was no other way of escape, but an act of undoubting self-surrender, resting in the Everlasting Arms.

There is one thing, and only one, for the awakened sinner to do, and that is TO PRAY, as "the Spirit giveth utterance," and chiefly for one thing, the increase of faith. We are not forgiven because we *repent;* we are not rewarded with eternal life because we consent to *trust Christ.* Our reading and hearing of the utterances of many that are esteemed the most decidedly evangelical of the religious teachers of these times have made us very jealous for the simple truths of the Gospel, and for the honor of Christ, who saves only and absolutely graciously, giving salvation without price or condition to those who will receive it; and yet how slow are even Christians to believe this! We sing, "In my hands no price I bring," but still would like to bring with us the beginnings of penitence and the germs of inwrought holiness. We pray, "Just as I am," but still would like to have a little better preparation of heart in which to come before God.

In another place we have written something about saving faith, a few sentences of which we will here reproduce, as pertinent to the subject indicated above.

In its last analysis, faith appears to be less an active than a quiescent state of the soul—its subjective spiritual estate. As in our sensations and perceptions we are acted upon rather than ourselves act, so in the processes of faith we are illuminated, taught, led, by something not of our own personality. The great things

ascribed to faith are not of its own efficiency, but rather of that to which the soul willingly submits itself. And while continued unbelief is always the result of a vicious resistance of the truth, entailing personal guilt, the only possible merit of faith is the negative one of submitting to be saved. High as is the office assigned to faith in the soul's salvation, it nowhere rises above the character of a willing receptivity and earnest acceptance of proffered mercy. When it is said that we are justified by faith, it is not intended to ascribe to faith any thing really meritorious, for it neither purchases any thing nor performs any *active* service in its acceptance.

The exhortation to "keep Christ's commandments" is never out of place, whether addressed to the saved or unsaved; but doing this, as far as it may be done in each case, neither procures justification to the sinner nor continued acceptance to the believer. If, in the beginning of the state of salvation, the Spirit is received, not by the works of the law but by faith, so, having begun in the Spirit, the completion of the work is not to be sought in the flesh.

In the same number of "The Independent" there is, in the editorial department, an article on "The Conviction of Sin." With what the writer has to say about the old-time manner of treating the cases of the "convicted," in most Calvinistic Churches, we have no concern, except to notice in the manifest disfavor here shown to that method evidences of the changes we at first alluded to. "Conviction" is described as having the three elements of—1. A deep realizing sense of one's own sinfulness; 2. The essential guilt of sin; 3. The impending wrath of God against the sinner. After making these statements, with accompanying deprecations of the unskillful manner of treating the subject, the writer proceeds:

> Our object in alluding to this matter is not to ridicule nor in any wise make light of that form of religious experience, nor to slight in any degree the genuineness and nobility of the Christian character, which was often, and even usually, found in association with these experiences. It is the rather to direct attention to what we believe was, and is, a mistake in the popular view of conviction of sin, and to point out a superficial characteristic of modern conversions, which indeed is the result of a reaction from that form of experience to which we have been alluding.

A question may be asked respecting the use of the terms "sinfulness," in the first of the items comprised in conviction, and "sin" in the second one. The natural implication of the form of words is, that the two words mean the same thing; and in that case, since man's sinfulness is an inheritance, by virtue of which all men are constituted sinners, and since the "wrath of God" is "impending" against all sinners, then is "original sin" not only something real, but also an occasion of the wrath of God, which is the very substance of guiltiness before him.

The abiding condition of the soul, being thus determined as one of sin and guilt, conviction of sin is simply the detection by the individual of his proper spiritual and legal condition before God. How this is effectuated the writer proceeds to point out:

> It is the work of the Holy Spirit to make that sentence of conviction true to man's consciousness, and to persuade him of the moral and spiritual condition

which he is in, not by making him *feel* that it is so, but by clearly *showing* him that it is so, whether he feels it to be so or not. An *emotional* realization of the truth is not necessary to conviction, although it is quite apt to follow upon an *intelligent* realization or persuasion of the truth.

And it may be added that it is pretty sure to accompany such "*intelligent* [spiritual] realization."

In the terminology of the Methodist pulpit in the days of the fathers no word was used more significantly and emphatically than "conviction," and its cognate "awakening;" and it was generally thought that a deep and pungent conviction of sin, with something of the forebodings of the "wrath to come," was a not unprofitable experience. Methodist hymnology abounds with the idea that it is good that a man should know and feel his own sin and guilt, and his danger before God, as thus:

"Fain would I all my vileness own,
And deep beneath the burden groan;
Abhor the pride that lurks within,
Detest and loathe myself and sin."

Or thus again:

"I tremble lest the wrath divine,
Which bruises now my sinful soul,
Should bruise this guilty soul of mine
Long as eternal ages roll."

Such, indeed, were the litanies which our denominational fathers provided for the use of those who through their ministrations, made effective by the Holy Spirit, might be awakened to just convictions of their sin and guilt. But it never was their policy to purposely hide for a moment from awakened souls the provisions and promises of the Gospel. And as the same divine Teacher who convinces of sin also reveals Christ in the soul, so a protracted and excruciating course of spiritual depression was no part of their prescriptions or regimen for souls diseased. It might indeed happen that, as conviction of sin precedes in the order of sequence, the vision of faith and the power to appropriate this grace of salvation, there will sometimes be an interval of painful suspense and of spiritual depression between the two manifestations. A man may have a clear, and intelligent, and scriptural theory of the way of salvation through Christ, and a painful sense of his need of salvation, and yet find himself unable to so take hold upon these things that through them he shall find peace for his soul and escape from the fear of wrath. The kind of believing which is the one and indispensable condition of salvation is only in its lowest and least effective form a predicate of the understanding. "With the heart man believeth unto righteousness;" and the exercises of the heart are not directly subject to the volitions. The awakened conscience may realize guilt, but it cannot break the power of sin; it may cause the cry for deliverance, but the effectual help must come from Christ himself, for which man can only pray. The power to see how that help may come to the sinner is the gift of the Spirit, who also gives effect to the soul's struggles for its realization.

Mr. Joseph Cook's lecture of February 15 is a remarkable, and also a characteristic, production. It is remarkable in that it indicates a very wide departure from the ruling traditions of the New England theology as it was proclaimed, and as it dominated the religious thought of that locality from the beginning until the comparatively recent past; and it is characteristic in displaying the strength of the lecturer's hold upon his convictions, which are at the same time, as stated by him, both ambiguous and incomplete. Setting out to answer his own question, "What is God's part in conversion," and indicating the "three kinds of knocking," as symbolizing the parts respectively of the divine and the human agencies in the process of conversion—though the last one of the three, "knocking that is too late," has nothing to do with the matter in hand, for it never results in conversion—he attempts in five propositions, which should be but are not axiomatic, to lay down a sure foundation for his further argument. Nearly all his leading terms, however, need to be further defined before his propositions can be either assented to or denied. One cannot be quite certain what he means by the phrase "vital orthodoxy," whether it implies essential truth, or conventional assent as to doctrine; nor is it clear, beyond doubt, what is intended to be the effect of the predicate "vital," as here applied to that uncertain something. So the required "philosophy" is an uncertain quantity, for a philosophy may be either the essential nature of that to which it is applied, or it may be simply the mind's conception of that nature, and we are left to doubt and guess in which of these senses the term is here used. The two (not three) "kinds of knocking," while they recognize two agents, still fail to settle the question whether or not the human agency is original or only secondary—whether or not man's will is at all a primary factor in the process. The most thorough *monergist* concedes the agency of the human will in conversion, but denies that it selects its own way of proceeding. And so long as that question remains an open one, all deductions about "responsibility" and of a "sound theodicy" are gratuitous. The advice to preachers, to let their philosophy be biblical, is a good one; and as the Bible makes no attempt to formulate a philosophy of regeneration, nor to bring into view the elements out of which such a system can be constructed, the preacher who would emulate the biblical method will let its philosophy alone.

It is needful in the discussion of this subject to remember, that neither of the contestant parties respecting the relations of the divine sovereignty and of human free agency, has a monopoly of the truth. Mr. Cook seems to recognize this fact, and he attempts a kind of allotment of each one's share, to which distribution probably neither party would entirely agree. In behalf of one of them we should certainly insist upon a somewhat different form of statement. With only the verbally brief, but really important, qualification expressed by the words in brackets, we heartily accept his putting of the case:

> The enlightened Arminian does not deny the sovereignty of divine grace, nor that God is the first [and only *efficient*] cause, or the author of regeneration. So

the enlightened Calvinist does not deny that man has a part to perform in conversion. The mischief is in placing undue emphasis on half of the truth [and excluding the other half], and so teaching in effect the worst kind of falsehood—that is, a half truth.

It is said by theologians of several [all truly evangelical] schools, that God bestows regeneration by an act of sovereign grace. He gives no reasons why he bestows regeneration on one soul and not on another [but refers the difference in the outcomes to the misuse of free-will]. He has reasons. Various schools of theology tell us that these reasons are inscrutable [because the primary influences that determine men's actions lie back of the range of the consciousness].

Abuse of man's free-will is every-where represented in Scripture as the sole cause [the inseparable condition] of the loss of the soul. No soul is lost by God's fault. This is every-where the prevailing and final impresion of the Scriptures. Conscience holds us, and does not make God responsible for our sins; and so ethical science [the intuitions of the conscience] is in harmony with Scripture at its central point. The ultimate mystery is not the continuance, but the origin, of evil.

In the little world of the individual finite life the problem of the origin [the propagation and continuance] of evil can be solved to the satisfaction of the conscience; and so perhaps it can be in the great world of all finite lives. In the microcosm we find the origin of evil in [associated with] the abuse of free-will. We infer that in the macrocosm it had the same source.

But the two cases, those of the "microcosm," this world, and the "macrocosm," the moral universe, differ in their historical and essential conditions, and therefore no analogy between them can be maintained. According to the biblical record, the sin that curses our race did not originate in this world, but was itself an importation from the great world beyond. In the history of the temptation and fall of the original pair there is the implication that if left to themselves they would not have transgressed; nor are we able to conceive how a spiritual being, made in the image of God, "in righteousness and true holiness," all of whose impulses were by all the forces of its nature in harmony with the divine will, could originate other and opposite moral tendencies. In man's case, although the abuse of free-will was a condition without which the catastrophe could not have occurred, still the positive influences that brought it about did not originate in man, but were brought to him, and made effective in him, by the tempter. In the "microcosm" sin became a fact, by reason of an exotic and extra-mundane power; but that fact affords no solution of the origin of sin, where before it had no existence. In his attempted solution of this great mystery the lecturer does only what many others have done, darkened "counsel by words without knowledge"—gone beyond his own depth.

The lecturer's statement of the case, respecting God's knocking at the door of the sinner's heart, is characterized by similar felicities and infelicities of conception and expression, but with a decided balance toward the better side. The knocking by God for admittance into the soul is happily expressive of the prevenient and unsolicited seeking of sinful souls by the Saviour of lost men. No soul goes out after God except in response to the invitation and in compliance with the inward impulses of the Divine Spirit. And more than this, contrary to what the lecturer says next (but he says just the opposite in the very next sentence), though it is for "man to open the door," yet the power to do this is not his

"natural" power. The knocking is much more than an awakening of the sinner's attention, and an announcement of God's readiness to save him if he wishes to be saved. It also "invites, persuades, *enables*" (so says Mr. Cook), and surely these divine invitations and persuasive appeals, with their accompanying "gracious ability" to "open the door," are not "natural," but above nature as to their origin, and in their operations against all the impulses of the fallen and sin-enslaved soul. Every conversion is a conquest by the power of the Spirit over the rebellious preferences of the willing slaves of sin, who strive against the strugglings of the mighty conqueror till constrained to cry out, "I yield, I yield, I can hold out no more." We receive Christ by our own free consent; but our consent is itself the result of a divine conquest in the soul, which proceeds by "preventing us, that we may have a good will, and working with us when we have that good will." "God does not force the door," nor compel the choice, but he persuades the heart, and gives the needed power to make its choice effectual. In effect, though not in all cases in the happiest form, Mr. Cook seems to concede, and indeed to assert, all these things, and in so doing he places himself precisely upon the grounds of Wesleyan Arminianism, which, however, is not the same with the Arminianism of the later Remonstrants, and of the Church of England in the eighteenth century, in whose sight Arminius himself was essentially a Calvinist.

Following the lecturer in his presentation of the human side of the processes that lead to and result in the conversion of the soul, we find it necessary to move circumspectly, lest undue concessions shall be made to man's personal ability "to turn and prepare himself, by his own natural strength and works, to faith and calling upon God." No doubt "to knock is an act of man's free-will"—not, however, of a will naturally free, but a divinely emancipated will. Nor do the non-spiritual impressions made by the invitations to repentance and salvation of the divine word and providence inspire the gracious desires that bring the man to Christ; but, instead, it is the inward working of divine power in the soul. All this is stated alike clearly and beautifully in one of our hymns; for in these it may be said one may find an unequaled system of evangelical theology:

"Long my imprisoned spirit lay,
Fast bound in sin and nature's night;
Thine eye diffused a quickening ray,
I woke, the dungeon flamed with light:
My chains fell off, my heart was free,
I rose, went forth, and followed thee."

Here is the whole situation. The soul imprisoned, and bound fast in unbelief, a very nightmare of unspiritual godlessness, is visited, unasking and unasked, by the light and life-giving power of the Holy Spirit, by which the man is awakened to the perception of spiritual things, and especially to a realizing sense of his own sinful character, and consequent condemnation and enslavement. And with the divine light comes also

delivering power (which may, indeed, be refused), and this accepted brings deliverance, and leads to a joyful self-consecration to God.

Just when and how the human element enters into this gracious process it is not easy to pronounce with certainty. Its presence in that work is presumed in all the practical teachings of the Scriptures, but whether the act of the will in accepting Christ precedes or follows the transformation of the spiritual nature by the Holy Spirit is not certainly determined. Manifestly, however, no one can live the life of faith unless he is of the "willing" as well as the "believing," nor is it any more difficult to suppose that salvation may be refused after it has actually entered into the soul than while, as yet, he that brings it stands without and knocks. And just here we must enter our decided dissent from the position of the lecturer, that "repentance" is the special contribution which the individual is to make to the conditions of his personal regeneration. Repentance is, indeed, very closely related to the work of the sinner returning to God, but not as a procuring cause or condition, but rather as a resultant consequence, like all other forms of good works.

In the rebound from the overstrained doctrines of the divine sovereignty, of irresistible grace, and man's entire passivity in the work of his own salvation, which is so marked a fact in the "New Theology," there is a perilous possibility that quite too much will be made of natural ability, and good works, and free-will—all excellent in their proper places, but none of them co-ordinate, in the farthest degree, with the merits of Christ and the power of the Holy Spirit. Being found in Christ, the soul is "complete in him," and needs no supplementary grace; and, being in Christ, the man will abound in all goodness.

Looking then at the "New Theology" in its better, and we may add its more prevalent, manifestation, and especially contrasting it with that which it supersedes, we find very much to approve, and but little to condemn. In the transition from the high grounds of the Westminster standards to the present broad expanse of catholic Protestantism, the Calvinistic Churches of America have tried a variety of doctrinal schemes; but all in turn have been abandoned soon after the decease of their promulgators. Such was the case with the sublapsarianism of the elder Edwards, and the successive "New Divinities" of Hopkins and Emmons, of the New Haven school and the Oberlin school, and such no doubt will be the career of that of the latest Andover school. But in all these movements there has been a clearly marked tendency toward all that is essential in genuine Arminianism. How all this has been brought about it is not easy to determine very exactly. Perhaps a variety of causes, constituting together the tendency of the religious thought of the age, may be credited with the result. The claim that very inconsiderable influences affecting this result have proceeded from the presence of Methodism, and from the teaching of the Methodist pulpit, may perhaps excite only a smile from those who have never thought of looking to that source for the influences that shape the thinking of the times. But it is known that while these changes have been in progress, a set of religious teachers hav-

ing the Bible chiefly, "without note or comment," and Fletcher's Checks, were spreading the leaven of a more scriptural form of faith among the "common people," who demanded and would have a less repulsive Gospel than that of the "Platforms."

Just how largely these influences may have contributed to the changes that all must recognize it is not needful to inquire very closely. The conquering party can afford to be generous; and as we are satisfied with the results, we will rejoice that by some means the theology of English-speaking Protestantism is shaping itself into a form at once biblical and evangelical, and distinguished equally for its recognition of God's paternal sovereignty, of Christ's universal grace, and the gift of the Spirit with the proffer of salvation to all men.

NON-CLASSICAL METHODIST THEOLOGICAL SCHOOLS.

After a long and earnest discussion, beginning about fifty years ago, Theological Seminaries were added to the educational institutions of American Methodism. They have already done excellent service, and have become indispensable. They should be more amply endowed and equipped for their work. After the fashion of Andover, provision should be made for a fourth year's course of study for the few who wish to pursue some specialty, or to prepare for a theological professorship without the peril or the expense of seeking such advantages in the unwholesome atmosphere of German rationalism.

Our classically trained young men should be encouraged to attend these schools, and our people should be taught to supply our societies for ministerial education with abundant funds for the aid of promising young men of scholarly aspirations and aptitudes [presumably] called to the ministry.

But when all these things shall be done, it will be seen that a large majority of our candidates for the sacred office have not been reached. At the present time about seventy-five per cent. of the preachers who are admitted to our Conferences have had no institutional education in theology. This proportion will not soon be greatly diminished. The high vocation comes to many who are too poor, or too old, to go through a full course of study extending through ten years. A man of twenty-five, with only a plain English education, at length convinced that he is called to the ministry, ought not to remain in school till thirty-five, nor yet to enter upon his work without further preparation; and yet the Church makes no provision for such cases. He needs guidance in the study of his English Bible, of the doctrines, discipline, and history of his Church, in the art of correct reasoning, and of persuasive speech. The Conference Seminary is doing another kind of work, almost wholly literary and scientific, except a few like Wilbraham—we wish the exception may soon become the rule—which insists on a comprehensive course of Bible study. The existing theological schools are for college graduates.

Though others are admitted, they are not permitted to be graduated to the same degree with the collegians. Then, again, the presence of Bachelors of Arts in the lecture-room dominates the diction of the lecturer, which is too learned to benefit the non-graduate.

It must be noted that the exegetical instruction, which is the most important, inasmuch as it is the foundation of the systematic theology, is all given in the recitations in Hebrew and Greek. These languages many young men cannot wait to learn. Hence they should be instructed out of the English version, comparing the Authorized with the Revised. They desire to be drilled in the most effective use of the sword of the Spirit, the word of God. They should be taught to look at the history of the Bible through the two eyes which are alone capable of seeing it aright—chronology and geography. The literary beauties of the sacred oracles should be pointed out to these eager students, and their style of public address should be imbued with the terse vigor of Saxon speech—one of the many excellences of our English Bible. For these reasons the non-graduate is not attracted to our classico-theological seminaries. He cannot be drawn by a modified course of study, a system of electives, for the atmosphere of the school is too bracing, the culture is above him, and painfully contrasts with his scholastic deficiencies. The Congregationalists and Baptists of England have found that a system of lower ministerial education cannot be successfully carried on in a theological school of high grade, and so have established separate institutions for this class of candidates, such as those at Bedford, Bristol, Nottingham, Cottonham, and in London (Spurgeon's). Their course of study omits the Hebrew language entirely, reduces the Greek to the minimum, and substitutes street-preaching and house-to-house visiting several hours each week, the aim being to keep the student in close sympathy with the hearts of the common people. Paley's Evidences, a model of simple, idiomatic English, Wayland's Moral Science, Whately's Rhetoric, are specimens of the text-books in use. German theology and translations from German are eschewed. The full course is two years.

Methodism needs similar schools, especially in the older parts of our work, where the circuit, under some wise preacher in charge, has ceased to be a training-school. There is room for a less learned ministry, full of faith and the Holy Ghost—a reservoir of eloquence ready to be poured out upon the thirsty multitudes through the spigot of street language. If Methodism affords this ministry no training-school, and maintains a literary standard which excludes it, the Benjamin Abbotts and the Taylors (E. T. and W.) of the future will be trained by the Salvation Army, or by some other organization near to the popular heart, and our grandchildren will be discussing how our Church can arrest her steady decline, and bridge the chasm between her and the unsaved masses. The mission of Methodism is to all men, not exclusively to the poor, but to those who need us most, whatever their social status. Beginning with the lower and middle classes, she has lifted many to affluence and its attendant culture. These should not be handed over to denominations which, by a more or less complete

segregation from the masses, affect more refined tastes. Methodism should be able to carry its members to the highest social altitudes without loss of spirituality or laxity of discipline. At this our educational system should aim. But while we are doing this work up toward the apex of society we are in peril of neglecting the ever-increasing multitudes nearer the base on whom fortune has not smiled.

The highly educated preacher naturally shrinks from the uncultured and vicious. Only perfect Christian consecration, as in the Wesleys, Fletcher, and Coke, can counteract this tendency. There is also a sense in which great erudition disqualifies for the highest success in the lowest social stratum. The well-educated man grows cool and self-possessed. He fears to become impassioned, represses feeling, and ties down the safety-valve of emotion, and then deadens his fires lest there be an explosion. Culture staunches the fountains of his tears, and moderates action, the natural language of thought, and especially of emotion. This puts a gulf between the preacher and the people. It has been well said, "Few men can reason, but all can feel." Hence, Emerson tells young orators to go into the markets and note the directness and impassioned naturalness and true eloquence of men in the stalls debating some question of gain—"their words," said he, "go straight to the mark like bullets." For this reason the Oxford-trained Wesley, intent on saving the semi-heathen of England, when Samuel Bradburn would hasten away in disgust from a frantic, brawling fish-woman, belching out Billingsgate, said, "Stay, Sammy, and learn how to preach." The scholastic preacher finds a still wider gulf between himself and the toiling millions in the unknown tongue which he has learned in the haunts of science and philosophy. He has at his tongue's end such Grecisms as anthropomorphism, anthropology, soteriology, eschatology, archæology, and all the other *ologies*, which make our dictionaries corpulent and the minds of ordinary hearers empty. If the gift of interpretation of tongues is not somewhere in the audience in the form of a fervent exhorter, and he is not heard after the unknown tongue ceases, the poor people will go home with a dreary roaring in their ears as of a Niagara of words, but with no cry for mercy in their hearts. The hiatus still widens when we consider that high culture costs much money and fosters costly tastes. How can such a preacher be expected to step down from the platform of the high-toned theological seminary, with his diploma in hand and a thousand-dollar debt on his back, and with cheerfulness go down into the city slums and mingle freely with humanity foul with moral ulcers? We know that the grace of God has raised up Christian heroes of this kind in every age of the Church; but they are exceptional and altogether too few for this vast harvest-field at the bottom of society. And the few who go down from the heights of culture find a chasm between them and the people in a lack of experience of their peculiar temptations, and of sympathy with their sufferings and trials. They are easily outdone in effective labor for the conversion of sinners by such men as Jerry McAuley, Francis Murphy, William Noble,

and other reformed men whose testimony to the power of Christ is more convincing, and whose sympathetic eloquence is more persuasive.

It is evidently the design of the Head of the Church to use rough instrumentalities to save rough men and women. I am not pleading for the literary polish of these agencies, but for their barest biblical and doctrinal training to enable them to do the greatest possible good with the least possible evil arising from the matter and manner of their teaching. They should be well guarded against heresies and fanaticisms. This end can be accomplished by low-keyed theological schools in all our great cities, from Boston to San Francisco, open to men and women who are indorsed by some Christian Church. Will these schools be filled with students? We answer there are hundreds and thousands of consecrated young men and women longing for any kind of work for the Master, not daring to look so high as the pulpit because of literary deficiencies. They are waiting for the Church to give them the training which they are qualified to appropriate. If Methodism is as wise as Romanism she will make ample provision for laborers of widely diversified talents, and will supply the unchurched masses with an agency adapted to their necessities. We are not advocating a school for preachers only, but for all kinds of lay workers, male and female—Bible-readers, Sunday-school superintendents, Young Men's Christian Association secretaries, Gospel temperance laborers, zenana visitors, colporteurs, evangelists, missionaries, home and foreign. Whether the refusal of our General Conference to license women to preach is wise or not, is not material to our argument. A great host of them have been encouraged by Methodism to open their mouths and proclaim in an informal way the glad tidings. They should have every possible preparation for their work to secure the highest efficiency with the least possible error in doctrine. I have included missionary training in these proposed schools, as a temporary expedient. The time is coming when our missions will be conducted on so vast a scale that missionary seminaries—like that at Basel, Switzerland—will be needed. Dr. J. T. Peck, in projecting the Syracuse University, included, under a separate board of trustees, a "college of missionaries." In the financial straits through which the University has passed, that wisely planned college was unwisely eliminated, and its funds were put into the treasury of the University. It was intended to do work of a much lower grade than the regular theological school. Dr. Peck was only about twenty years ahead of his age. It gave him great pain to see this child of his brain and heart strangled in its birth.

We have lately noticed, with a very lively interest, the establishment in Chicago by the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, of a school for training female missionaries for both the home and the foreign work. This is a step in the right direction. May God grant it great success, and may the Church see to it that it lacks nothing requisite to its highest efficiency!

But we are pleading for institutions on a broader basis, limited to neither sex, and restricted to no specialty in the form of Christian work.

Can this want in Methodism be supplied by existing institutions? Not adequately. We have shown that our regular theological schools fail to supply this need. The non-graduate theological course is more germane to our Conference academies, and could with better success be engrafted upon them. But such an arrangement would be attended by certain great disadvantages: 1. A loss of a proper theological *esprit de corps* in a body of students of diverse aims. The school for which we plead should be intensely evangelistic in its spirit, and far removed from mere scholastic rivalries and ambitions. 2. The absence of such opportunities for daily practice, in various forms of Christian work, as abound in our great cities, for our academies are wisely located in country villages. The theological students who aim to reach and save the masses should be schooled in outdoor preaching, Christian temperance work, Young Men's Christian Association operations, Bible and tract distribution, Bible-reading, and evangelistic services, and mission-chapel preaching, all under the eye of competent teachers. Those seething caldrons of vice, our great cities, will for a long time to come afford ample opportunities for such work, unless our municipalities, under the political rule of Romanism, forbid outdoor preaching, as Boston has recently done, beneath the shadow of Faneuil Hall, "the cradle of liberty!" The Methodist Episcopal Church may be roused to action in this matter by seeing what others are doing. Dr. Talmage, of Brooklyn, several years ago, established such a school, from which good results have come. If I mistake not, Thomas Harrison, the evangelist, is one of its graduates. Dr. Cullis has for ten years maintained such a school in Boston, in which hundreds of young men and women have been fitted for Christian work at home and abroad. Rev. David A. Reed, of Springfield, Mass., has founded a "school for Christian workers," for which a magnificent building has just been dedicated. It is called a union school, but Congregationalism predominates. It is exclusively for men, laymen, and aims chiefly to train Sunday-school superintendents, Young Men's Christian Association secretaries, and city missionary workers. Rev. Mr. Hepworth, while a Unitarian pastor in Boston, started a training-school for developing laborers among the masses, but failed, because, first, Unitarianism has little or nothing to carry to the masses, and, secondly, it has no such imperative motive for carrying its meager Gospel as is furnished by the evangelical faith. Through the kindness of Rev. J. B. Paton, D.D., principal of the Congregational Institute, Nottingham, England, I have full reports of that school during the twenty-one years of its history. Of the four hundred and fifty students received it has found one hundred competent to complete a college course, and has sent them forward for that purpose. Two thirds of its graduates have become village and rural pastors, who are doing excellent work; the remainder are doing the work of evangelists and missionaries. Those trained for the pastoral office begin Greek in the school, and read a very little of the Greek Testament in the second-year course. This is not required of the others. Evangelistic or mission work is required of all. As a result, six additional Congregational churches have been raised up in

Nottingham alone; others have been established in England and Scotland, and many dying churches have been revived.

In the discussion which may follow this paper we predict that objections will be made, in the interest of our collegiate theological schools, that their financial resources will be tapped and needed offerings will be diverted from their treasuries and students will be drawn away from their classes.

To these objections we reply, that movements near to the popular heart in the interest of those who are low in the social scale, always open new fountains of benevolence in the hearts of wealthy men and women, who have a lively sympathy for the class from which they have so recently arisen. Methodism has a vast reservoir of accumulated wealth, which, for her spiritual health, needs a large and constant outflow for the benefit of the thirsty world. It may be that the present outlets are too high up to receive copious streams, and that an outlet lower down may be needed in order to deplete our hoarded riches. Excessive giving is the most distant peril to which Methodism in our day is exposed. Any thing which stimulates giving in one direction will incline her to give more liberally in other directions.

With respect to students, our proposed schools would help our Theological Seminaries in three ways: 1. They would sift out of them earnest and zealous men who have not the natural or acquired ability to master the course of study, but who are attempting it to their own detriment and that of the school which they have entered because no lower school is provided. 2. Some, beginning in the lower school, would develop the desire and the ability to advance into the higher institution, just as the Chautauqua course of reading has waked up some to prosecute a collegiate course. All schools of a lower grade are directly or indirectly feeders of those above them. 3. The less learned preachers, by their successes in saving souls and building churches, will create a demand for more preachers of higher culture, and in this way will fill our best theological schools.

DANIEL STEELE.

FOREIGN, RELIGIOUS AND LITERARY.

HUGUENOT DOCUMENTS.—The memories of the sufferings of the Huguenots, revived by the anniversary of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, have called into life a large amount of documentary matter regarding the history of that eventful period in the story of French Protestantism. There has just appeared a new edition of the great work of Beza, entitled "History of the Reformed Churches in the Kingdom of France from 1521 to 1563." This work first appeared in 1580, in Antwerp, and was finally incorporated in the collection of the classics of French Protestantism published in Cologne in 1686, in a work by Claude. bearing the title, "Lamentations of the Cruelly Oppressed Protestants of France."

This "document" presents thrilling pictures of the devastations of the Church of the Reformation which were inflicted on it before the Revocation of the Edict. The author was a preacher in the "Temple" of Charenton near Paris, which, after the repeal, was destroyed by a fanatical mob. The author was then driven beyond the French lines, as being a peculiarly dangerous fanatic. His work, being a recital of his own personal experience, added much to the sympathy for his Church, and inspired both hearts and hands to accept and welcome the poor fugitives in foreign lands. The very documents of the State persecutions are given. The destruction of Protestantism had been in process of execution for a long time; numerous edicts and laws and declarations had been issued, and with the edict of 1685 it was thought the end was accomplished. But not so; for the ordinances reach into the middle of the following century, issued from time to time to smother the smouldering germs as they would again appear.

The necessity for a compilation of these papers made itself felt at an early period. For in 1686 three of the Romish clerical scholars published a glorification of the "Grand Monarch" for his work of annihilation of the "so-called" Reformed Church—for the official designation of the Protestant Church stood thus in State documents as early as 1570, that is: "*Religion prétendue Réformée.*" Collections of these were made for official use of the authorities in Paris, Toulouse, Rouen, and Grenoble.

Following these, the well-known Leon Pilatte, of Nice, has published the decrees against Protestantism in a new edition. These are naturally the most important, and are generally accompanied by explanations and notes to a series of individual cases. Although the documents of some entire Parliaments are left out of this collection, there are still not less than 336 decrees in it, which were issued from 1662 to 1751—that is, in a little more than ninety years — and which were thought worthy of publication; 206 of these belong to the government of Louis XIV. We thus, in authenticated words, are made acquainted with the weapons which the State and the Church in this highly refined France, in the flourishing period of its arts and sciences, felt no scruples in using in order to crush out those believers in the faith before committing them to the dungeons or the galleys.

The Church of Switzerland seems just now to be passing through a period of great activity, notwithstanding much antagonism. This life is best seen in the manifold conventions of the believers in the Protestant Gospel pure and simple. At one of these the theme of the preacher was "The Evangelization of the Masses," and his teachings were the many examples of Jesus the Lord while in the flesh. The highest Christian duty he declared to be to carry these tidings to those who will not seek them; and these are ringing words when we consider time and place and surrounding circumstances. The tendency is every-where to more and better work in the cause of religious instruction. In Geneva there is a demand for more thorough instruction in the elementary truths of Chris-

tianity of those about to be confirmed, and also for a greater number of services during the Sabbath. There is also a call for more open-air meetings to attract those who never hear the Gospel otherwise. In Basel there is a call for more Church services, and a "missioner" has gone thither from Argau to engage in the work. In Zürich the home mission work is being cultivated with great success.

Toward the close of last year there was a conference of the Church Aid Societies, which presented a scene of great activity. The first work reported was that of gospel preaching at the summer resorts, which in Switzerland are of course crowded with foreigners. In this enterprise the Swiss join with the Germans, and the pastors who had finished the season's work reported very satisfying success.

The increased demand in Switzerland for secular elementary schools makes it more and more necessary that the pastors of the Protestant Churches should care for the religious needs of the children of their parishes. Under such circumstances, nothing but great diligence on the part of religious teachers can make good the loss entailed on the children. In this interest the committee of the Young Men's Christian Associations has issued an appeal to the clergy and the Protestant teachers to redouble their efforts in behalf of gospel work among the young. This will greatly increase the necessity for conscientious Sunday-school work.

In German Switzerland, within the last few years, the number of students of theology has considerably increased. In French Switzerland, on the contrary, Protestant pastors are wanted. In the Canton of Vaud the Synod recently decided to render the admission of candidates more easy, and to make the pay of pastors better. For the aid of needy students nearly 4,000 francs were collected. The Seminary of Basel, containing about thirty students of theology, is rejoiced and strengthened by the fact that hereafter its pupils will be admitted to State examinations in some of the German kingdoms, as this State recognition will make the position more desirable to students. The foreign mission spirit is also rapidly growing in Switzerland, and is also gaining more and more of State recognition. Only a very few years ago public missionary meetings met with great opposition in Berne; but now these meetings can be held in the school-houses without interruption; and in the latter city, as in Zürich, the ordination of missionaries is permitted. In the Grisons the Synod lately resolved to establish missionary Sundays, and take up collections for the cause. All this is regarded as great progress.

A German Thucydides.—Leopold von Ranke, the revered master of German historians, recently completed his ninetieth birthday, sound in body and in mind as he was forty years ago. All that could be gained in honor and distinction as a scholar was his long ago; but on his last birthday, at the advanced age of fourscore and ten, he received even greater homage. Many of the great men of his own and other lands vied with academies, universities, and other associations to do him reverence. From all parts of the German Empire, and far beyond its borders, there

came to him numerous addresses and letters of reverence and sympathy. The Emperor and Empress honored him with their portraits for his stern and just judgment of Prussia's history, and for the light in which he had placed his country for the present and the future. The Crown-Prince came to greet him in person, and other German princes gratefully confessed themselves his pupils; while the entire ministry of the State, in a special address, expressed the hope that his life might be spared, with the wisdom of age and the unconquerable vigor of youth, to finish the work in which he is now engaged, namely, a universal history.

In Vienna and other European capitals special celebrations were arranged in his honor to testify to the royal significance of his historical studies of the present age. Peculiarly affecting was the greeting that he received in his own home from numerous notabilities of science, who uttered words of gratitude and affection. To these the venerable scholar replied, as from his own chair to his own pupils, in an address full of surprising beauty and flashes of genius—a confession of faith as to his scientific life, and the course of culture and thought that led him to a conviction of his life vocation.

No German scholar ever celebrated a birthday like this, because Germany never had a scholar like him. His activity has occupied a space of sixty years, and yet it is not finished. In his presence the strength of younger men in the professional chair has waned, while the hoary sire in his eighty-fifth year began to solve the problem of historical science with one grand finale of universal history. The separate histories of nearly all European states had passed under his eye and treatment, when he resolved to cap the climax of his individual monuments with a harmonious crown to the whole. In 1824 he opened his career with the history of Romanic and Germanic nations; then followed that of the Popes of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and the German history of the period of the Reformation. In all this work he labored among the fountains of information, and thus brought to light very much from original sources. For four years he worked in Venice, Rome, and Florence, and presented the result of his labors in a form and style of uncommon depth and perspicuity. He treated of statecraft, royalty, democracy, religion, and literature in a style of historical development that delighted his hearers and entranced his readers. At his desk in the University of Berlin thousands of pupils, young and old, listened to him almost as to one inspired, and the gray-haired men of to-day were his pupils when he already seemed old. And still he lives, and thinks, and works, though an old man of ninety years.

Alcoholism in France is beginning to assume alarming proportions, as it is indeed raging as a pest in various European nations. Hitherto the French have had the reputation of being a comparatively sober nation, owing, they say, to their good and cheap wines; and they themselves have been foremost in the expression of disgust at the drunkenness of other nationalities. But the period seems to have passed when they

can consistently do this, for the latest statistics show an immense and alarming increase in the consumption of alcoholic drinks. Within the last fifty years the consumption of these has increased threefold, without any very great increase in the population.

It is clear that for the last few years, especially in the large cities, the use of wine has been on the decrease and that of ardent spirits on the increase, the former falling off about four per cent., while beer and liquor have increased about thirty-five per cent. Of course the evil effects of this change have not tarried in their coming, especially since it has been helped on by imported liquors from Germany and Holland. Rum and gin, which were comparatively little known to the French before the Franco-German war, are now quite familiar terms. French political economists have already observed that in those regions of the north and north-east of France where alcoholic drinks are most indulged in, there crime has greatly increased. The suicides, that in 1830 amounted to 1739, now amount to nearly 7,000 annually, and among these cases it is statistically reported that an overwhelming percentage is due to alcoholism.

And all this occurs under the heavy weight of large taxation on liquors of a spirituous nature; indeed, the taxes seem to have no influence in lessening the consumption, for to-day three times as much brandy and other ardent spirits are drank as was consumed fifty years ago. Added to this, the trade in spirituous liquors is absolutely free since 1880. No legal permission is now required to open a liquor shop; it is sufficient to give fourteen days' notice of the fact, so that the police may prepare to look after the disorder that may occur in the neighborhood. The natural result is an immense increase of liquor shops in Paris. There are now about 30,000 in that city.

Since 1873 there is a law that punishes public drunkenness and that forbids the sale of liquor to notorious drunkards or minors, but the report is, that this law is by no means strictly enforced. At last, however, there is a moral reaction against this vice; the chosen few who see the imposing danger to the state and society are endeavoring to stem the tide. A few temperance societies have been formed, mainly by the influence of the Protestant clergy, for the Catholic hierarchy seem as yet to ignore the fact of this growing and all-consuming vice. The Swiss society of the "Blue Cross" has been invited into France, and has there founded a few branches, mainly in Paris. This society demands complete prohibition as the only means of curing the drunkard and preventing the increase of the vice. But it must be said that most of the thoughtful and Christian men of France have little confidence in aught else as an effective antidote than the revival of the Spirit of God.

From Italy we learn that the ministry has gained a victory over the opposition, and still holds the reins that threatened to fall from its hands. The arbitration of the Pope between Germany and Spain seems to have served the Germans rather than the Italians, and therefore brings no great eclat to the Vatican. The Cardinal-Secretary of State, as the Pope's

Chancellor is still called in memory of the past, recently gave a grand State dinner, from which were omitted all the Cardinals that are hostile to Prussia. The object of this strange proceeding is not so clear, except that it be to cultivate kindly feelings with Prussia in order to make an end of the past as far as the Kulturkampf is concerned. But no mortal can get a satisfying glance of the secret threads that in so masterly a way move the policy of the Vatican.

In the late Encyclical, now known in history as the "Immortale Dei," a special copy of which was sent both to Bismarck and the Emperor, every one who understands the business language of the Vatican sees a virtual declaration of war on all constitutional states, especially those in which parity of religions is allowed. For when the foreign office of the Curia speaks of the "Christian Church" it means, of course, the Church of the Pope by the grace of God. In these late negotiations it was observed that the Prussian embassador negotiated with the Pontiff in the name of the Empire rather than of Prussia; all of which shows a great *rapprochement*, to speak diplomatically, between the two powers. The Italian students in the State universities are quite inclined to be troublesome, just now; for which reason the Minister of Public Instruction is also inclined to draw the reins more tightly. The youth of Italy are forbidden to form associations for political purposes, an order which has caused a storm of opposition from these sons of the Muses. But they seem to obtain but little sympathy and support from either the people or the press, since the demonstration of the students of Rome in favor of Overdank, the assassin.

The History of the Reformation has become almost a watch-word among German scholars since the recent "Luther Days." At that period they formed an association to cultivate study and investigation referring to the great event, and this society has just finished and reported on its second year of activity. The number of members has largely increased, and the outlook for continued literary activity is quite encouraging. The ultramontane press is inclined to belittle its efforts, and gives periodical assurance of the failure of its aims. But this is only seemingly so, because most of the members of the association in foreign lands think it best to send what they may collect and prepare from archives and libraries without giving the visible source of the communications, which proceeding spares them much unpleasantness.

It is observed, however, that these documents are not passed over in silence by the foreign camp; a fact which makes it the more desirable to continue the work, as the sons of the "Reformers" have a good and valid right to all the sources which may give insight and intelligence to the history and fate of the great uprising. The result of these labors is, a series of histories and biographies of the most prominent witnesses and workers for the true Gospel at isolated points. Among these we quote "Schott's Revocation of the Edict of Nantes," and the "Life of Heinrich von Zütphen." We are also mindful of the fact that many of the insinua-

tions of Romish authors, as well as falsifications of history, are to be examined and rectified. That there is great necessity for labor in this line is proved by the misrepresentations of the history of the period of the Reformation in Wurtemberg, and also the attacks on Luther in the latest Romish tribunal. The president of the association expresses a desire that this conflict may go on valiantly, as it uncovers many hidden and unworthy attacks on gallant Christian workers of other days. The corps of investigators, now containing such names as Köstlin, Kawerau, and Jacobi, will, it is hoped, be increased by members from all gospel lands, so that the body will be a veritable "*corpus evangelicorum.*"

THE GERMAN workers for the Protestant cause in Italy are a very compact and loyal body of men. Their main object is to keep the many Germans settled in various Italian cities within the bosom of their gospel faith and their home Church, and also to give what aid they may to the Protestant work among the Italians themselves.

They recently held their sixth annual convocation in Genoa, the last being in Rome. They came to northern Italy that those working in that section of the peninsula might have a more easy opportunity to meet all their brethren and participate in their proceedings. All the workers of northern Italy were present except those from Bergamo, Milan, and Venice, who gave valid reasons for their absence, one of which, we surmise, was want of funds for the journey, as they receive but a very meager support. Several fine addresses were delivered, which show the bent of their investigation and the line of their reading, namely: "The Proof Bible," which is virtually their revised version; "The Propaganda Fide;" and "Ancient Christian Art."

In the practical portion of the proceedings we see every-where an appeal for more help from the Fatherland for the extension of their work; and for this purpose they resolved to apply for recognition from the central committee of the Gustavus Adolphus Association of Leipsic. It was gratefully announced that the General Synod of the Evangelical Church in Prussia had taken up a collection for their aid, and that the Gustavus Adolphus Association of Eisenach had appropriated 1,500 marks for the support of one of the circuit preachers of Italy. Some of the ministers proposed a system of circuit preaching throughout the land, the only objection to which seemed to be the want of money to pay traveling expenses. Monthly meetings were announced as being held in Messina and Palermo when not interfered with by the cholera quarantine. It is quite a revelation to know that there are so many German settlements in Italy, and gratifying to learn that those who serve them are so loyal under great tribulation. These organizations must be maintained by the aid of the home churches, for which these evangelists now earnestly plead.

THE SECULAR SCHOOL IN FRANCE is still the main weapon with which the clergy wage their war against the government. The Conservatives largely owe their recent victory in the late elections to these schools as a watch-

word. Indeed, many of the large political journals of the country openly announce, that in certain towns in the west and south-west of France teachers give instruction in the Catechism in spite of the laws against it. And strange as it may seem, the Protestant schools and seminaries for teachers suffer in this struggle more than do those of the Catholics, because the Catholics are numerous enough to maintain their own religious schools outside those of the parish, while the Protestants are not.

According to a recent report the primary schools are on the increase, and teachers for them and the secular schools are becoming more abundant. Education in these is now compulsory up to the thirteenth year. But in addition to these, the Catholic orders maintain elementary schools with well nigh 1,000,000 pupils. Regularly examined teachers with diplomas are increasing very rapidly, and the system of savings-banks in the schools is making great advance; the last report in regard to this matter gave a total deposit of over 11,000 francs. The greatest improvement in the year past has been in the character of the teachers, owing to the numerous normal schools recently established. The male graduates of these institutions are nearly all employed; many of the female graduates are without employment because the French do not take kindly or rapidly to the system of women teachers in the elementary schools. There is now a normal school in nearly every department of France.

The Jews in various parts of Europe seem extremely active at present. In Rome they have received new laws granted by the government, which virtually form them into a separate community. They have about forty councilors that decide on all matters regarding them, except the election of rabbis, which must be by the voice of all the voters. The separate synagogues remain independent, but new ones will soon be needed as the Jews' quarter, known as the "Ghetto," is being demolished for sanitary and civil purposes. A *Talmud-Thora*—that is, a seminary for the training of rabbis—was recently opened in Rome. The Jewish congregation at Leghorn recently inquired of the superior synagogue of Turin as to whether cremation would be permitted among them; a negative answer was received. The college of rabbis declared that cremation is incompatible with the requirements of Jewish burial. In the new French Chamber there are now four Jews, an increase of two over the last. In Russia it has been announced that students of non-Christian confessions have no claims to State aid in the form of stipendiums. The chief of police of St. Petersburg has also decreed that no Jews may now settle there without a permission, granted on the basis of presentation of their case. The emigration of Russian Jews to Palestine continues in goodly numbers. Most of this is directed to certain Jewish colonies near Jaffa.

The Catacombs of Rome have at last fallen into excellent hands for a treatment on the Protestant side of the question. The chaplain of the German embassy at Rome, a gentleman of rare attainments, has under-

taken the task of investigating them in the interest of Christian archæology rather than that of the dogmatics of the Romish Church. After the meritorious services of Dr. Piper of Berlin and Professor Schultze of Greifswald in regard to the inscriptions and figures of subterranean Rome, this work of Dr. Karl Romke comes in as a very desirable sequel. His numerous notes show that he is well versed in the literature pertaining to the subject, besides being at home in the labors of Rossi, Armellini, and Martigny. He uses with care Kraus's Encyclopedia of Christian Antiquities, and seems to digest all the labors of his predecessors into a volume that will henceforth be very desirable to those who would be well and wisely guided in all that pertains to the Catacombs in a broad Christian sense.

The "Free Churches" of France—the so-called "*Eglises libres*"—seem to hold their own, notwithstanding the indifference of friends and the hostilities of enemies. At a recent synod they reported over 200,000 members who had contributed 260,000 francs for their support. The most important resolution taken by the body was that in regard to the establishment of parishes in the broader sense, besides their congregations. The members of the body also resolved not to move a step from the two principles of separation of Church and State and individual confession of faith founded on conversion. Thus the Church of the masses and the Church of the confessors are for the moment two bodies, that cannot be united. This last resolution is very significant, and will more than ever show the *Eglises libres* in their right light. Pastor Soulier was the bearer of greetings from the semi-official Synod of the Reformed State Church, Jacatot from the independent Church of Neufchâtel, and Rev. Mr. Brown from the Free Church of Scotland.

"The Catholic Missions" of Paris, a missionary journal, contains many letters regarding the Christians in Annam. It goes without saying, that the Catholic priests could not expect much mercy from the people of the country that the French were ruthlessly invading. The result was a fierce conflict against all natives who sympathize with the French missionaries, or who were in any way under their influence or on their side. This led to a virtual war between them and the natives, in which three of the French fathers or priests led a column of three thousand of their followers against the attack of thousands of well-armed rebels, as the French call them. In one of the provinces Père Auger organized an expedition and went at the head of a column of "Christians" who proceeded to release another community of Christians that were besieged. The sum of all the losses was the slaughter of seven thousand Christians and the destruction of seventy Christian settlements. But what a crowd of Christians these French priests seem to have made. And what do they mean by the appellation of Christian?

Palestine continues to be the scene of repeated failures in the line of Jewish settlements with a view to possess the land. Another colony of

Jews, started there by the money of benevolent Englishmen, has just gone totally to pieces. During the late Jewish persecutions in Russia and Roumania many poor families were induced to find shelter by means of English money in the abandoned village of Artuf. More land was bought for them, a goodly number of provisional houses were constructed, and a synagogue and a school-house were built. But the new settlers, who seemed to rely more on English gold than on the fruit of their labors, obeyed with no good grace the orders of the overseer, who became so disgusted with them and discouraged with the undertaking that he gave up his position. At present only two families remain there, and it looks as if the colony were completely prostrated. A desperate effort is now being made to revive it from Jerusalem, under the guidance of assistance from there. But it will probably go the way of all Jewish colonies in Palestine. The Jews who go there are of a poor, helpless class—they go to die rather than to live.

MISSIONARY INTELLIGENCE.

THE DEATH OF BISHOP HANNINGTON.—After weeks of anxious suspense concerning the fate of Bishop Hannington, the rumor of his assassination near the Victoria Nyanza has been so far confirmed that only the faintest hope is entertained of his being still alive. It was on New Year's day that the Secretaries of the Church Missionary Society received the first intimation that the Bishop and his company had, in the country of the Wasoga, lying east of the northern end of the Victoria Nyanza, been sacrificed to the native fear of a European invasion. The Bishop was trying to reach Rubaga, the capital of Uganda, at the northern end of the lake, the seat of the great Central African mission of the Church Society, by a shorter route than that usually traveled. The journey from Zanzibar by way of Mpwapwa and Uyui to the southern end of the Victoria Nyanza, thence by boat to Rubaga, at the north, is a journey of about 800 miles. It is the route heretofore taken by the missionaries. Bishop Hannington was anxious to find a shorter route, and decided to start from the coast at a point considerably north of Zanzibar, and go direct to the northern end of the lake, skirting the base of Kilimanjaro, and marching through the country of the Masai, the most savage of all the African tribes. It is known that with his attendants and a large company of carriers he escaped the perils of the journey, which had previously been taken by but one European, Mr. Joseph Thompson, and arrived in the country of Usoga, which lies directly to the east of Uganda, to which it is tributary. Mr. Jones, an African clergyman, who accompanied the Bishop, appears, for some unknown reason, to have been left at Kavirondo, a district on the east side of the lake. Mr. Thompson had stopped at a point on the border of the Uganda territory, and as he had no permit to enter it he deemed it prudent to turn back. The Bishop, however, pressed on into Usoga.

Here, according to the various accounts which the Society has received, the travelers were arrested and imprisoned, and messengers were sent to the king of Uganda, Mwanga, to ask what should be done with them. The first intelligence received in London on New Year's day came by telegram. On February 7 Mr. Handford telegraphed from Mombasa on the coast, north of Zanzibar, as follows: "Jones returned. Bishop undoubtedly murdered." A telegram asking who witnessed the murder, and when and where, was immediately sent by way of Zanzibar, and on February 12 a reply was received which the Secretaries of the Society interpret thus: Bishop Hannington was murdered in Usoga, October 31. He was proceeding with fifty men when he was arrested and imprisoned, and on the return of messengers from Uganda, on the eighth day, was with his company, led out to execution. Four of his men escaped, besides Jones, who had been left at Kavirondo. Two of the four who escaped, and who were eye-witnesses of the murder, were in Zanzibar when the reply was sent. There can be little doubt, in the face of these explicit accounts, that the Bishop has perished; but the Secretaries refuse to give him up yet. They say: "The hope that he has been spared is faint indeed; but yet, so far as we at present know, no one has actually seen him killed." The Secretaries have also received letters from their missionaries in Uganda, dated October 27, four days before the execution is said to have taken place. One, by Mr. Mackay, is addressed to Consul Kirk, at Zanzibar, by whom it was forwarded to London. Mr. Mackay says the report reached Rubaga on the 24th of October that Bishop Hannington and party were at Busoga, four days' journey from Rubaga. On the 25th, a gang of men was sent by King Mwanga to kill the Bishop and his company, and bring their goods to the capital. This order was given secretly, and the court tried to mislead the anxious missionaries, telling them that the Bishop was simply to be turned back, for Uganda must not be entered from the back door. The Wasoga might possibly kill the party, but the Uganda court could not be held responsible for that. The arrest was made by a marauding party sent out previously by the king, and the Bishop was put in the stocks, and was, it was learned, suffering from illness. The prisoners were under the control of Luba, chief of Usoga. The missionaries went every day to the court, but the king would not receive them. He was impressed with the belief that the Bishop was only the forerunner of a European invasion, and feared that his country was to be annexed, as territory in the neighborhood of Zanzibar had been claimed by Germany. The chiefs are all unfriendly, and on the suspicion of being political agents the missionaries were arrested by their order in June last, and were to be sent out of the country, and only escaped by paying a heavy indemnity. The feeling against foreigners is running higher and higher, and the missionaries are in imminent danger.

Since the above was written a letter has been received by the Church Missionary Society from the Rev. William Jones, one of the company who escaped, dated Rabai, Feb. 15, 1886. It confirms the reports of the kill-

ing of Bishop Hannington. It is thought that ten or more of the company escaped. Fuller details from the scene of the massacre will be anxiously awaited.

Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church.—The sixty-seventh Annual Report of this Society is quite a bulky volume. It consists of 325 pages, against 288 last year. The increase, however, is not to be taken simply as indicating growth in missionary operations, for the report of 1881 embraced 333 pages. Some years the reports from the various fields are fuller than usual, though they may not be years of extraordinary missionary activity. The natural tendency is, of course, to larger volumes as new missions are opened and existing missions extended. Korea was added last year to the list of foreign missions, which now number seventeen, an increase of seven in fourteen years. The ten missions of 1871 were Africa, South America, China, Germany, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, India, Bulgaria, and Italy. For these missions there were 168 missionaries, 96 assistants, and 139 helpers. It is to be observed, however, that 18 of the 168 missionaries were female and native missionaries. We had last year only 116 foreign missionaries, a decrease of 13 from the previous year, and of more than thirty from the year 1871. There were, however, last year 72 assistant missionaries (the wives of missionaries), 68 missionaries (female) appointed by the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society, besides a very large native force. These are encouraging evidences of growth. As the native agencies increase the demand for missionaries from this country becomes less pressing except for new fields. The whole working force reported in 1871 was only 403; now it is 2,259, an increase of more than 1800. The strength of the native element of this working force is a fact of tremendous significance. There are, for example, no fewer than 709 native preachers, besides 694 native teachers, exclusive of the 334 native workers reported by the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society. So large a native working force implies a large membership, and we find that the increase in the fourteen years has been of the most encouraging character. The total of members and probationers in 1871 was 16,795. Last year it was 49,575, indicating an almost threefold increase, or an average net gain of 2,341 a year.

In nothing, however, has healthy growth been more apparent than in the matter of contributions. The total of collections for missionary and current expenses returned in 1871 was $14,771 16. Last year $9,283 was given for the Missionary Society alone. Adding to this the gifts for the other benevolences—$5,228—we have $14,511 for the general schemes of the Church collected on the foreign field, a sum nearly equal to the whole amount contributed in 1871. Besides this, there was raised last year, $74,377 for self-support, $54,180 for church building and repairing, and $74,871 for other local purposes, making the magnificent total of $217,909 raised by our foreign missions last year. While, in fourteen years, we have only been able in any one year to get $200,000 beyond the missionary receipts of 1871, our foreign missions have added more

than $200,000 to their annual contributions for all purposes. Is there not food for reflection in these showings?

Africa occupies the first place among our foreign missions in order of time; but it is among the least productive. It covers but little more than two pages in the Report. Bishop Taylor held the Liberia Conference in January of last year and again this year. The Church is looking to the Bishop's enterprises for the encouragement which Liberia has failed to give.

The superintendent of our South American missions says, that while 1884 was reported as the "most prosperous year ever known in this mission," the past year has been still more prosperous. The salient features of the progress of the year are, he says, the "conversion of souls, the ingathering of members, the founding of new congregations, Sunday-schools, and day schools, the increase of funds raised, both in the aggregate and in the average per member, the growth and reliability and zeal in the new workers, improvement in the operating of the Discipline, and a sensible gain in our *hold on the public mind.*" The total membership has risen to 898, a gain of 142 the past year. The contributions were $12,557, a clear gain of over $3,000.

The reports from the four missions in China occupy 45 pages, and are full of interest. In the Foochow Conference two revivals are mentioned as having occurred in the Foochow District with very satisfactory results. The native preachers have little confidence in protracted meetings, which are strange to them. They believe in regular methods, but are beginning to see the value of special efforts. The six presiding elders in the Conference are all natives. Little persecution is reported in any of the districts. In Yong-ping District there has been a marked improvement in this respect, and the people are looking with some favor on the new doctrine. The missionary in charge on this district says the Chinese are more zealous in church building than any other form of self-support. If they could be induced to take the same interest in supporting the preachers, a great point, he thinks, would be gained. Within the Conference $1,225 was raised last year for church building and repairing, and $754 88 for self-support. The net increase of communicants was only 37. In the Central China it was nearly 100. In the North China mission a determined effort is being made toward self-support, three of the preachers having pledged one tenth of their salary to this purpose. There have been ten conversions during the year in our new mission in West China, and there are 64 day and 94 Sabbath scholars. The dispensary work in Chung-King is very large, and attracts much attention. It more than pays for itself.

The increase in the Germany and Switzerland Conference of communicants was 514. The work is also in a very prosperous state in the Scandinavian missions.

The reports from the North India Conference are full and of good tone. Every charge or circuit is mentioned, and there seems to be prosperity in them all. This appears in definite form in the statistics, which show a

net gain of 527 communicants. The increase of probationers was 365, including 248 who were baptized at a *mela*, and are reported in connection with the Oudh District. Presiding Elder Johnson, in his report for this district, says interest in the Gospel message is becoming more general, and the number of those rejecting heathenism is rapidly increasing. The day to expect great things is at hand. Speaking of the conversions at the *mela* he says:

> The baptism of 248 in three days at the Adjudiya *mela* has probably awakened more thought and discussion than the baptism of ten times that number will a few years hence. The fact that the people baptized at Adjudiya were from distant parts of the country, and their place of residence unknown, has nothing to do with the genuineness of the work at the time. We must, however, keep a careful record of all who are baptized, and make their care and instruction our chief work, even should it revolutionize all our present plans.

There are three English-speaking churches in the Conference—one in Cawnpore, one in Lucknow, and one in Naini Tal. These churches have a total of 133 members and probationers. All the rest of the 4,977 communicants returned by the Conference are natives, and one district, the Amroha, is entirely native, with native presiding elder and native preachers. The sum raised for self-support in the Conference was $6,102, showing an increase of upward of $1,800.

For South India the Annual Report is able to give little except what is found in the Minutes of the Conference for 1884, when there were 1,888 members and probationers.

The superintendent of the Bulgarian mission states that the past year has been "one of quiet activity, considerable encouragement, and some gains." The total of communicants is now 96, against 76 in the previous year. As to the outlook the superintendent says:

> Judging by the experience of the past, we may expect a slow increase, to go on indefinitely, slightly accelerated from year to year. But another factor enters now into the problem. What of the war? It would be hazardous to prophesy, but note the fact! Russia, whence our opposition gained most of its inspiration, seems likely to be entirely eliminated as an important factor in the Bulgarian problem. The union with Eastern Roumelia brings us the moral support of a strong and rapidly growing community there, raised up by the labors of the missionaries of the American Board. The bereavement of Bulgarian homes is softening the hearts of the people under the discipline of sorrow, and must lead many of them to turn to their neglected Bibles for comfort. The substantial moral support they are receiving from England must shake the faith of many of them in the infallibility of "orthodoxy," and tend to convince them that Christianity and not "orthodoxy" must characterize the platform of a universal faith.

Japan, one of the most promising of our foreign missions, is prospering in every department. In the eight districts into which the Conference is now divided there are 1,648 communicants, a net increase of 221 during the year. Italy is growing slowly, and Mexico a little more rapidly, the net increase being 127. The growth in Mexico is described as being a healthful one. The total of members and probationers is 1,361, with 36 congregations and increased contributions for self-support.

Korea is the newest of our foreign missions. There is little to say of it

except that a beginning has been made by Dr. Scranton and Mr. and Mrs. Appenzeller in Seoul. Mr. Appenzeller reports the abolition of slavery by royal edict, a very important step toward reform.

THE TONGAN SECESSION.—Our readers will remember the accounts which we gave some months ago of the secession in Tonga from the Wesleyan Church, and the formation of a new Church, calling itself the National Church, with the king at its head. The Friendly Islands, to which group Tonga belongs, are attached to the New South Wales Wesleyan Conference, forming a district by themselves, while Fiji, Samoa, and New Britain and New Ireland form another district in the same Conference. The Conference at its annual session in Sydney in January received a report of a deputation which had been appointed to investigate the causes of the secession, and discussed the subject on the basis of the report at great length. It appears from the statistical report of the Friendly Islands District that the secession has almost destroyed the Wesleyan Church. In the four districts composing the mission only 852 out of 5,113 members remain in the Wesleyan Church. In Tonga 2,555 out of 3,151, and in Vavau 1,858 out of 1,862, have gone over to the new Church, the total loss being 4,413. The new Church is called the Free and Independent Church of Tonga. The deputation, which consisted of the Rev. Messrs. John Watsford, Frederick Langham, and William T. Robane, were appointed by the General Conference of the Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Church in 1884. They were instructed to visit the Friendly Islands and examine into the affairs of the Church with a view to the recommendation of such measures as would put an end to the troubles which King George of Tonga had brought to the attention of the Conference in a letter asking that the Tongan mission be detached from the New South Wales Conference and united with the New Zealand Conference. The deputation were instructed to report to the New South Wales Conference in 1886, and that Conference was empowered by the General Conference to transfer the Tonga District to the New Zealand Conference if it were deemed advisable so to do. The deputation submitted a long report with a copy of the evidence taken. After the deputation had been appointed news of the secession reached them, and they hastened their inquiry, visiting Tonga in May last instead of October, as they had originally intended. They went, they say, as peace-makers, determined to make any concessions not opposed to the interests of right. They had an interview with the king and heard the statements of Messrs. Baker and Watkin, leaders of the secession, and made full inquiry into all the alleged cases of persecution. They found Mr. Baker, they say, supreme, king in all but name of Tonga. On every side they heard, "Tubau is king, but Mr. Baker rules." The deputation saw nothing to give them any other impression. Mr. Baker would not deny it. Nothing could be done in State or in the new Church without his permission. They found that a great deal of persecution had been used in behalf of the new Church. The plan adopted was this. Meetings were called in

towns and villages and the king's letter was read and his will was made known, sometimes by Mr. Baker himself, that they should join the new Church. Those who remained in the old Church were persecuted. Men and women were driven from their homes and land. Some were banished to uninhabited islands, some received personal violence, and churches in some cases were taken possession of by force. The deputation charged the responsibility for this persecution on Mr. Baker, and he did not deny it. They asked the king whether each man would be allowed hereafter to worship God in peace, but he would give no direct answer. There could be no peace, he said, while Mr. Moulton (the chairman of the district) remained. Mr. Baker charged that Mr. Moulton was opposed to the government, and that the people were persecuted, not because they were Wesleyans, but because they adhered to Mr. Moulton. Though the deputation had little hope of effecting a reconciliation, they resolved, after they had learned the history of the secession, to make four propositions, as follows :

1. That the Tongan District should be separated from the New South Wales and Queensland Conference, and be connected with the Victoria and Tasmania Conference.
2. That Mr. Moulton's request made two years ago and which he was prepared to repeat if by that a reconciliation could be affected—that he be allowed to remove from Tonga to a circuit in New South Wales—be complied with.
3. That Mr. Watkin be allowed to withdraw his resignation; that he suffer no disabilities because of any thing that had taken place: and that his request presented two years ago, to be allowed to remove from Tonga to a colonial circuit, be complied with.
4. That the most suitable ministers that could be found in any of the colonies be sent to carry on the work in Tonga.

Mr. Baker expressed his willingness to accept all the propositions except the third, asserting that the king would never consent to Mr. Watkin's removal. If Mr. Moulton and Mr. Crosby were removed he would be willing to have the district annexed to one of the Annual Conferences in two or three years. The deputation could not, however, give way any further, and Mr. Baker positively refused to accept their compromise. They then considered the question whether they would recommend the withdrawal of the Wesleyan Church from Tonga, and quickly decided it in the negative. It would be unjust and cruel to the persecuted people to abandon them. It would not heal the breach, because the remnant of the people would not join the new Church.

This is the substance of the report laid before the New South Wales Conference, the recommendation being that an experienced minister should be sent to Tonga and Mr. Moulton be relieved. Subsequently two of the three members of the deputation withdrew their approval of the recommendation so far as it concerned Mr. Moulton, and ultimately a resolution was passed by the Conference refusing to accept the recommendation, and declaring that the retention of Mr. Moulton is indispensable to the preservation of the Wesleyan Church in the Friendly Islands. No disposition was shown in the long discussion on the report to censure Mr.

Moulton, but some of the speakers for the minority thought there had been imprudence of administration.

One of the speakers, referring to the losses by the secession, said that at the last General Conference the Wesleyan Church had in Tonga, according to the published returns, 18,500 adherents ; but now there were only 2,100, so that since the last General Conference they had lost 16,400 adherents of their Church. At the last General Conference the returns showed 7,336 full members at Tonga. At the present moment there were 852. That meant that since the last General Conference they had lost 6,484 full and accredited Church members. The Conference by its action retains Mr. Moulton as chairman of the Friendly Islands District, and leaves the situation unchanged.

Explorations on The Congo.—Mr. Grenfell, of the English Baptist mission on the Congo, is making, in the mission steamer *Peace*, some interesting explorations of the great tributaries of the Congo. In one of his journeys he ascended the Mobangi River several hundred miles, and went up the Congo as far as Stanley Falls. He also ascended the Itimbiri to Lobi Falls and the Lomami, which leaves the Congo near the Falls. His most recent trip was up the Black and Lulango rivers, which flow from the south into the Congo, the former at the point where the equator crosses it, the latter a short distance above. Mr. Grenfell went up the Lulango a distance of 400 miles, and found the country a rich one, especially in ivory, and the people generally friendly. Some of the districts are very populous, and towns of ten thousand inhabitants are not infrequent. The curse of the region is the slave-trade. On the upper half of the river Mr. Grenfell was warmly welcomed, and he recommends that a mission station be established at Masumba. At Ditabi, upward of a hundred miles beyond Masumba, a different kind of people were met with.

Near the head of navigation an important market was found, but it contained nothing indicative of communication with civilization beyond a few brass ornaments. Cloth was of no account with the natives. A few beads or a tin can were, however, as current as coin in London. On the Black River, with its tributaries, the Bosira and the Juapa, both of which Mr. Grenfell ascended, there were startling evidences of cannibalism. Mr. Grenfell learned that a canoe had gone up the Bosira on a trading expedition a short time before, but had not returned. The natives had captured the canoe and killed and eaten the crew. Mr. Grenfell, however, succeeded in making friends with the people at most of the points. At Bunginji, near the head of navigation on the Bosira, a race of dwarfs were seen. They are from four to four and a half feet high, with short thick necks, big heads, and black beards. It was hard to gain their confidence. Mr. Grenfell considers the Bosira the least promising of all the rivers he has yet visited. On the Juapa he found a good report had preceded him for some distance, and the people were quite friendly.

THE MAGAZINES AND REVIEWS.

It cannot be said that our publicists are making no study at all of the socialist and labor problems, but it can be said that no one of them brings to these matters the penetration and breadth of some foreign students of economical questions. This is no doubt due, in part, to the longer prominence of socialistic and labor problems abroad. But it is also due to the fact that England, for instance, has a large class of men whose leisure and taste lead them to be disinterested students of affairs. In the "Westminster Review" (English) for January there is a most vigorous paper on "Socialism and Legislation," in review of some of the most recent works on the subject, which deserves the study of the thoughtful. This paper pays especial attention to the doctrines of Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, who is "*facile princeps*" among the younger English statesmen. This paper is one of the best in respect of its able exhibition of the economic fallacy which underlies socialism. It is also noteworthy in finding much worthy of consideration in the teachings of socialistic apostles.

While the general tone of the Westminster is always unfriendly to the Christian religion, it yet gives aid to Protestants by defending and illustrating the Protestant spirit. The second article in the number under notice, is a review of the Hibbert Lectures for 1885, by Ernest Renan, on "The Influence of the Roman Empire on the Roman Catholic Church." Renan follows the well-known saying of Hobbes, "The Pope is the ghost of the deceased Roman Empire sitting crowned on the grave." Renan cannot, of course, be trusted in his interpretation of facts, but generally can be as to the facts. It is of slight importance to Protestant principles that so eminent an historian agrees with Milman and Martineau, that the Church at Rome was founded neither by St. Peter nor St. Paul. It is not Paul, "but Aquila and Priscilla, who founded the Church at Rome" —a product of Jewish Christianity. To M. Renan it is a vastly more important question whether Paul came to Rome than whether Peter did. Of the first there can be no doubt; of the last there is little reason for belief. The papal theory which brings Peter to Rome in the year 42, and gives him a pontificate of twenty-two or three years, has not now a single rational advocate. "Peter had not yet arrived in Rome when Paul was brought there, about the year 61. The Epistle of Paul to the Romans, written about the year 58, . . . shows that it is impossible, if Peter had been the head of the disciples at Rome, that no mention should be made of him. . . . The last chapter of the Acts is still more decisive. Verses 17–29 are unintelligible if Peter was at Rome when Paul came there." This review exhibits the great value of Renan's work when read with care.

The paper on Mr. Gladstone and "Genesis" is a sharp review of that production, the sum of which review is in the question, "What was the Genesis account intended to teach if not science?" The article on "Missions to the Jews" is well worth study, showing the forces which have

led the higher classes of Jews to secede, and yet exhibiting the apparent inutility and decay of the great English societies for the conversion of the Jews.

The Edinburgh for January opens with a cheerful review of the relations between England, Afghanistan, and Russia. To our readers, the article most worthy of study is that on the "Ancient Coptic Churches of Egypt," in review of the work of that title by Alfred J. Butler, M.A. Oxon. For some reason these Coptic Churches have been inexcusably neglected. Their insignificance in numbers and poverty have, no doubt, much to do with the neglect of them. But he who begins to study will find himself intensely interested. The present position of the Copts is exceedingly painful. "Cairo affords a shelter for the indigent patriarch and a remnant of ten bishops; forty monasteries have survived the inroads of the Arabs, and the progress of servitude and apostasy has reduced the Coptic nation to the number of twenty-five or thirty thousand families, a race of illiterate beggars, whose only consolation is derived from the superior wretchedness of the Greek patriarch and his diminutive congregation." Mr. Butler reminds us that these Copts represent the people who built the pyramids; that their ancient tongue is spoken at every Coptic mass, and their ritual is now less changed than in any other community in Christendom. They achieved a distinct style in architecture and art, and yet the Copts at present have lost every trace of artistic tendency and skill. The rascally priests have sold some of the most valuable carvings to European bric-a-brac hunters. A very remarkable fact is, the absence from all Coptic paintings of the torment of sinners, which has such prominence in Greek and Latin art.

The "Quarterly Review" (English) for January opens with a long and stirring paper on Church and State, which is as noteworthy for the number of books and pamphlets it puts at its head as for the importance to Englishmen and the Christian world of the question of disestablishment. The article is very "churchly," as becomes the Quarterly. Apropos of the disestablishment question, the writer quotes from several tourists who report the comparative failure in America of the voluntary principle. One writer quoted says, that "many stately city establishments pass under the hammer as financial failures,"—a statement by no means true. It is refreshing to read this Quarterly, so thoroughly does it represent "Old England," the England of "Church and State;" so steadfastly does it defend every thing from which young England would deliver itself.

The "Contemporary Review" (English) for February is noteworthy for its eminent names. Surely Freeman, Dicey, the Bishop of Carlisle, Lord Hobhouse, Sir John Lubbock, and Frederic Harrison make a goodly array. Much of the matter is chiefly interesting to Englishmen, though the articles by Freeman on Home Rule, and by Prof. Dicey on Ireland and Victoria, have interest for broad political students. Dr. Freeman believes that Home Rule for Ireland is the manifest dictate of justice,

but of a justice which must not be injurious to Protestant Ulster and to England and Scotland. Not the least valuable paper is that on the "Babylonians at Home" in which M. Bertin recreates the popular life in the buried city by a vigorous use of the historical imagination in the study of the small cuneiform tablets of a private character which have been found. The oldest of these whose date has been accurately determined, carries us back to 2075 B.C. In such records we see the people selling and buying houses, land, cows, slaves. Even there pious men deeded property to temples. Judicial decisions were also recorded. Entering into partnership was called "entering into brotherhood." It is very interesting to note that then, as now, when partners borrowed money each partner was liable for the full amount. At this early date woman could hold property and enter trade, but she should not appear as a witness to a contract. Property was then settled on woman to protect her in case of the husband's death or failure in business. At that time men could borrow money, giving themselves and their children as security. The slave system was regulated by law, and these records show a very highly organized society. The tax-law compelled agriculturists to borrow on their future crops—money-lenders, note-brokers, seem to have abounded. This sketch by M. Bertin is very rich and suggestive. In the paper on "The Nationality of the English Church," Lord Norton flounders uncomfortably to show that a Church which is deserted by more than half of the population of England is still "national." This ecclesiastical *myopia* afflicts some people nearer home.

We are indebted for these standard English Reviews to the Leonard Scott Publishing Co., 1104 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, which issues the American editions.

The immense grasp which the Bible has on thought is seen in the living and growing stream of publications in all the great languages in comment and exposition. "The Monthly Interpreter," edited by the Rev. Joseph I. Exell, M.A., and issued in this country by Scribner & Welford, New York, is in the front rank of ministerial helps. One can be sure of finding here whatever is freshest and best in scholarship. In the December number Professor A. H. Sayce, in his article "On the Old Testament in the Light of Recent Discoveries," shows how the name "Shem" receives light from the Assyrian "Samu," olive-colored or brown. Japheth is supposed by some to be identical with "ippat," white. In Ham we have the Egyptian "Kemi," black. Kem was the name of Lower Egypt, which is called Ham in Psa. lxxviii, 51. In Assyrian as in Hebrew "Ham" signifies hot. In Gen. x, 2, Gomer are the Gimirra of the Assyrian inscriptions, the Kimmerians of classical writers. Tarshish is the Tartessos of the Greeks near Gibraltar. Many other conjectures and identifications are given in this paper. In the January number will be found a very valuable article on the "Difficulties of Scripture," by Rev. W. J. Deane. The old, and it would seem ever-living, question concerning the brethren of our Lord, is ably discussed by Prebendary Huxtable in a second

paper. In the issue for February, 1886, will be found the second study, by Rev. G. G. Findlay, B.A., of "St. Paul's Doctrine of the Church." To Methodists this is interesting, as taking our position as distinguished from priestcraft and the Quaker view.

Our new "Princeton Review" makes a great hit in securing for its March number the remarkable paper by James Russell Lowell on the poet Gray. Lowell and Stedman are really our only American examples of the highest critical ability, and they equal any who write the English language. They have the wide knowledge, the intellectual sympathy, the judicial spirit, the literary skill which make up the true critic. Lowell makes the explanation of Gray's melancholy in part remorse at the abeyance of his powers. "His mind was gay and his soul melancholy." Dr. F. L. Patton has a finely acute discussion of "Contemporary English Ethics." It is of the highest order of philosophic study. Dr. G. D. Boardman, in "The Just Scales," says some good things concerning the balance as an emblem of honesty, of fairness in trade, of justice in wages, of generosity in prosperity, and of holiness in character. The anonymous paper on "Federal Aid in Education" does not take a very hopeful view of the proposed Blair Education Bill. The legal and moral difficulties in the way of national aid to education are so many that the intelligent citizen may well hesitate in making up his opinion. The particular value of this article lies in its sketch, or rather rough draft, of a scheme which extends the needed aid with the least possible federal interference in State affairs. E. S. Nadal, the son of our lamented Dr. Nadal, writes with the intelligence of experience in answer to the question, "Do we Require a Diplomatic Service?" This he answers affirmatively, and declares that if our representation abroad is not what it should be, our duty is to improve the service rather than to deprive ourselves of an effective and necessary instrument for the successful transaction of business. There is much amusing matter in this article, especially that which relates to the description of the jealousy of diplomatic privileges on the part of some traveling Americans. There is a very intelligent account by J. B. Harrison of the movement for the redemption of Niagara, a movement which has so far progressed as to make it certain that approach to Niagara is to be far more easy and pleasant in the future than in the past. It is especially valuable as giving an additional proof of the power of an intelligent republic to put aside material advantages for the sake of elevated sentiment and spiritual emotion. The story of this number is by H. H. Boyesen, with the plain title "John Sunde."

The misfortune which has befallen the hearing of Dr. Peabody of Harvard has not silenced his pen, for he opens the "New Englander and the Yale Review" for March with a paper on "A Liberal Education," which is as fine in expression and as thoughtful in matter as any work he has ever done. A careful examination of Leo XIII.'s encyclical letter by John Alonzo Fisher, shows that the liberal phrases of that document are only phrases—that its conservative character is undisguised. There is a very

good review by Levi L. Paine of the volume on Progressive Orthodoxy. The writer sums up his opinion of the book by saying: "Not accepting its assumptions, we cannot accept its conclusions. . . . We believe a better theodicy is coming, but it must come by another way." It is interesting to find this writer, with regard to the extent of the atonement and the relation of the heathen thereto, taking the ground which our Methodist fathers have taken from the beginning. The article contains this fine compliment to President Warren's "Paradise Found:" "President Warren's 'Paradise Found' may not succeed in proving that the North Pole is the cradle of the race, but it is very instructive reading," nevertheless. There is an anonymous paper on the New Education in Harvard and Yale, reviewing the papers by Professor Palmer of Harvard and Professor Ladd of Yale. To show that Yale College is not falling behind in respect of intellectual activity, Mr. Edward G. Bourne gives a list of books published by the faculty of Yale since 1880.

The "Andover Review" for March has as its leader a paper on the well-worn theme of Reason and Revelation. Its key-note is in the following sentence: "The ever-increasing evidence of a unity of method in creation invites theology to take a far more positive position with regard to the congruity of natural and revealed religion as related to the human reason than was once required or even perhaps possible." There is here a very interesting sketch of the relation of the problem of a written revelation to natural religion, built upon evolution. The author, the Rev. F. H. Johnson, deserves, for this paper, to be named among the most thoughtful and vigorous of our clerical minds. Parenthetically the teachings of Cardinal Newman with regard to the relation of reason and revelation (?) are examined with much acuteness. He makes this very striking quotation from DeQuincy: "It is clear as is the purpose of daylight, that the whole body of arts and sciences compose one vast machinery for the irritation and development of the human intellect. For this end they exist. To see God, therefore, descending into the arena of science, and contending, as it were, for his own prizes by teaching science in the Bible, would be to see him intercepting from their evident destination his own problems, by solving them himself." Professor E. J. James, of the University of Pennsylvania, discusses "National Aid to Popular Education" in this review. On the whole, the tendency of the paper is in favor of national aid, while the writer is fully aware of the constitutional difficulties in the way of granting national aid to the extent necessary to do effective work. The writer holds that it is possible to so construe the Constitution, without violating either its letter or its spirit, as to justify the right of Congress to appropriate money from the national treasury for the support of schools. We fear, however, that he takes a too sanguine view when he adds, "This is also becoming the general opinion of the country, both in and out of Congress." The question is practically no longer debated on constitutional grounds, but solely on those of expediency. Frederick G. Mather has a very interesting study of riots. Very accu-

rate accounts are given of the riots which followed the strikes in 1877, as well as of the more recent *emeutes* in Cincinnati. He finds that the theory of a cyclical movement of riots is sustained by the facts, but each class of riots following around the circle seems to gather new and more dangerous elements to itself. The massing of population by the development of railways is likely to make the riots of the future more formidable than those of the past. In the development of historical criticism there is a very valuable sketch of the Buddhisms of Japan. The heterogeneity of the Buddhism of northern countries has been well known to scholars, but in popular writing on Buddhistic systems has been almost wholly neglected. Buddhism in Japan has almost as many sects as Christianity in America. It is an interesting fact that there are seventy-two thousand Buddhistic temples in Japan, while of monks and nuns there are ninety thousand.

The "North American Review," notwithstanding the ability of its old and new rivals, achieves each month a remarkable degree of variety and interest. Theodore S. Woolsey shows how the fishery question appears again as a problem for solution. Cyrus W. Field advocates the purchase of the telegraphic system of the country by the government. Edward Everett Hale shows why he is a Unitarian. This article has something of a new departure in the old "North American." The article shows what we have long since learned to expect in every description of orthodoxy from an unorthodox stand-point—the most amazing misapprehension and misunderstanding of so-called orthodox teaching. Consider, for instance, the following: Doctor Hale, speaking of the doctrine of total depravity, says: "Nine tenths of the Christians of America try to believe it to-day. They try to believe that nine tenths of the human family are incapable of good. That is the Sunday theory; but if you meet these men Monday, they hold no such theory. Every one of them asks a stranger the road quite sure that he will tell him the truth if he can; quite sure that he is not inclined of nature to lie." Here Dr. Hale utterly overlooks the fact that, while orthodoxy holds that humanity has lost, through sin, the natural capability for good, yet it has received from God's good-will, by his Holy Spirit, a gracious capability of good, so that any one throughout the wide world who would do good can do good. It does not hold that every person has sounded every note in the gamut of sin, but that every person, by the disasters of an evil inheritance and his own personal sinfulness, is incapable of doing good except as he is helped by the ever-present and ever-willing Spirit of good. It is an interesting fact, if it be true, that Universalism, according to Mr. Hale, is the direct and legitimate offspring of Calvinism, while the Unitarian churches of New England come from Arminianism. We find a similar misapprehension of orthodox teachings in the writer's statement of the doctrine of creation.

An interesting fact stated by Henry Strong in the article on American Landlordism is, that twenty-five years of observation and experience prove that the decided and unmistakable tendency is to smaller farms and a

larger number of freeholders. But neither this writer nor David Bennett King finds much reason for alarm in the existence of large estates, or in the land laws of the country. The widow of Dr. Pavy gives a very interesting account of his relations to the polar expedition. The stock of unpublished letters concerning the war is enlarged by several which are printed in this number from the pens of General Grant and General Halleck. These letters show that Halleck was much kinder toward Grant, and much more thoughtful of his convenience and welfare, than is commonly supposed. Thomas A. Edison publishes his article upon the air telegraph only to find the papers stating that the principle has been discovered and used before. It will be indeed a marvel when a train can be caught on the track by a direct telegram, or when a telegram can be sent from a moving train with an absolute certainty of correctness and dispatch. General Sherman answers the criticisms upon his letter-writing by printing his unspoken address to the Loyal Legion, which was prepared for its meeting at Cincinnati on February 10, in this number of the North American.

Whatever may be thought of the theological agility of the Rev. M. J. Savage, candor will admit his ability, and of many able papers which he has written, the leading one in the "Unitarian Review" for March, on the "Debt of Religion to Science," is one of the best, although very rhetorical. It reads quite like a sermon, and a sermonic style is certainly not the style for a review. According to the Rev. Nicholas P. Gilman, there is now a reaction against individualism both in politics and in religion. A very interesting feature of this number is the account by R. Schramm of the Jumping Procession at Echternach in the month of May, 1885.

It will startle some to read the title of the Rev. William I. Gill's paper in the "Quarterly Review of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South," for January. This title is none other than "Early Methodist Rationalism," the theory of the paper being that Methodism has been marked from the first, contrary to prevailing opinion, by a distinct and eminent intellectual quality, exemplifying in this a true Christian rationalism. There is also in this number a very fair description of mysticism; another on "The Moral Character of Doubt," by Dr. W. H. Anderson; while the leading place, singularly enough, is given to a study of Washington Irving.

If any one wishes proof that religion, notwithstanding all doubt, is among the chief concerns of life. it can be found in the fact that Edward Everett Hale states, in the "North American Review," why he is a Unitarian, and that M. J. Savage recounts his religious experience in the first number of the "Forum," the new magazine which leaps in full strength into life. This is the first number of the "Forum" (Forum Publishing Co., 97 Fifth Avenue, New York, $5 a year), and is an excellent example of good editorial work. It has enough old names to command the confidence of experienced readers, and enough new ones to awaken interest and command attention. Professor Winchell discusses strongly and leadingly of Science and the State; James Parton on "Newspapers Gone to Seed;" the learned E. P.

Whipple considers "Domestic Service;" Dr. Reginald H. Newton declares that "Romanism is Baptized Paganism;" Edward Everett Hale tells how he was educated, which is the record of three schools and a college, which the writer yet declares was not the record of his education, that being due chiefly to his father, his mother, and his older brother. The general trend of the paper is in Emerson's aphorism, "It is little matter what you learn; the question is, with whom you learn." The only other paper of great importance is that by Dr. Crosby on the question of "The Enforcement of Law." The "Forum" is certain to command a place.

In the "Catholic World" for March our readers will find at least one article of theological interest, it being attempted by the Rev. John Gmeiner to show that the Emperor Julian the Apostate was a great spiritist. As a vigorous testimony against spiritism the paper has value.

To those who are disturbed by modern criticism we commend the papers now being issued in the "Homiletic Review" by Professor Bissell, on the question, "Has Modern Criticism affected unfavorably any of the essential doctrines of Christianity?" A paper of considerable practical value is that by Dr. Ormiston in the March number of this review on "Insomnia, its Cause and Cure."

We like the sermon of Dr. C. S. Robinson as given in the "Pulpit Treasury" much better than we like the portrait of our brisk and witty friend. Dr. Robinson is a born homilist, has a gift for textual anatomy, and his sermon on "The First Contribution Box" in this number is altogether the best thing in it.

The paper of chief interest in the April "Atlantic" is that by Julian Hawthorne, who studies his father's favorite romance, "The Scarlet Letter," with great insight and ability. Here is a very pregnant sentence: "The real agony of sin, as Chillingworth clearly perceived, lies not in its commission, which may be delightful, nor in its open punishment, which is a kind of relief, but in the dread of its discovery."

Those who are interested in the mission work of Bishop Taylor may well turn to the remarkable paper in the March "Harper's" by David Kerr, on "Africa's Awakening," in which a vast amount of fresh information is accumulated and an opinion is expressed as to the future. We are accustomed to regard the mechanical development of our American towns as the most marvelous thing in the world. Yet those who would know the truth should study the leading paper in this number of Harper's by M. D. Conway, on "An Iron City Beside the Buhr." This is a most remarkable history of the most remarkable industrial city ever created by the genius of one man.

To students of social questions the article in the March Century on "The Strength and Weakness of Socialism," from the pen of the Rev. Washington Gladden, will be found of great value.

BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

An Introduction to Theology: Its Principles, its Branches, its Results, and its Literature. By ALFRED CAVE, B.A., Principal and Professor of Theology of Hackney College. 8vo, pp. 576. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Scribner & Welford.

AMONG Germans Method (as applied to the processes and the subjects of study) has been reduced to a science. With them Methodology is made to do service as a labor-saving device, by indicating the constituent parts of the subject to be considered, and how it should be treated, and what are the available helps. This has been most largely applied in the study and in respect to the subject-matter of theology, to which the German mind seems to be especially addicted. But while treatises on that class of subjects abound among our Teutonic kinsmen, we have hitherto had but little of the kind in our own language. And because this has been felt as a want among us, several attempts—none of them especially successful—have been made to meet the necessity by translations of certain well-known German works—notably those of Hagenbach and Räbiger—the former issued in this country, in an adapted edition, and the latter, in a literal version, by the Clarks, of Edinburgh.

But all such works, though not without their value, must fail to meet the requirements of the case, on account of the unlikeness of the German modes of thinking and of expression, as compared with those of the English and Americans. Translations, therefore, however complete may be the transference of the thought from the one language to the other, cannot answer our needs, for the dissonance is in the thoughts themselves, and not simply in the form of words; nor can this infelicity be avoided by free renderings and adaptations of the original to our modes of thought and language. We are glad, therefore, that at length we have in our language an original book, which seems to be the long-desired and waited-for work. The descriptive title is well chosen—we prefer it decidedly to the higher sounding and more pedantic one used by the Germans—and yet, as here used, it needs a further definition and differentiation, for that to which the book is an "Introduction" is not theology itself, but the study of theology. The purpose of the author seems to be to indicate certain facts and principles that should be kept in mind in the study of theology, and from these to deduce practical rules for that study. With the science of theology itself he is not immediately concerned; but instead, it is his business to point out how the study of that science may be pursued, and what are the area and the contents of the subject.

The work is thoroughly wrought out and reduced to form. It is also approximately complete in respect to its details of the matters discussed; and its references to the literature of each department—in the English language—indicate a very wide acquaintance with the subject.

After some forty pages of "Prolegomena," through which the author

reaches the more definite subject which he proposes to consider, more than sixty pages are occupied by Part I, which is devoted to an "Introduction to the Theological Sciences in General," in which "theology," as differentiated from all other forms of human learning, is indicated and defined, and so presented for a more searching examination. Part II, entitled "Introduction to the Specific Theological Sciences," occupies the larger half of the volume, with a multitude of "divisions," devoted severally to, 1. "Natural Theology;" 2. "Ethnic Theology;" 3. "Biblical Theology," which last is arranged in many "heads" and "subdivisions;" 4. "Ecclesiastical Theology;" 5. "Comparative Theology;" 6. "Pastoral Theology."

This distribution, it will be seen, is agreeable to the generally accepted method, which indeed appears to be at once exhaustive but not redundant. In each case, as a new subject is brought forward, it is concisely defined, and its place in the more general subject indicated, and the history of its treatment briefly stated. After these is given a list of the books recommended to be used in the study of each particular subject. This last feature is among the most valuable in the whole work; for while it is full enough for all general students, by not attempting to satisfy the wants of specialists it is saved from the mass of works sometimes seen in such lists, which very few could use, and which are at once unattainable and undesirable, except for the very few—not one in a thousand—of those who may still wish to compass all needful and attainable learning in theology. The books named are nearly all available to English readers—some of them in translations—and most of them belong to the current century; a fair share of them are works written in this country. As a theological bibliography we prefer it to any other that we have seen, although its author himself so highly praises that of Bishop Hurst. We would suggest to the good Bishop to enrich his volume, in its next edition, with somewhat liberal selections from the lists given at the end of the several divisions of this volume.

This book is intended to serve as a guide and a hand-book for the student of theology, when, having passed from under the hands of teachers and guides, he comes to pursue his life-work as a teacher and guide to others. The Methodist minister's instruction respecting the use of his time, if diligently observed, will render the practical use of such a manual possible; and the minister who desires to study to the best advantage, and so as to show himself approved, cannot do better than to make free use of the instructions here given. We have met with no other work that has seemed so well to answer all the requirements of the case.

Sermons and Sayings. By Rev. Sam P. Jones, of Georgia. Cincinnati Music Hall Series. Edited by W. M. Leftwich, D.D. With an Introduction by I. W. Joyce, D.D. Small 12mo, pp. 312. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe.

It is of small account to criticise a book which every body who cares at all for its subject is reading, or one which by its subject will be judged of blindly by most of its readers. These considerations force themselves

upon us, as we pass in thought over the book above named. We have read considerable parts of it, several of the sermons (?) entire, and others in part. It is eminently a live book, intense in thought, vivacious in style, with evident indications of the deep sincerity, the fearlessness, and the glowing zeal for God and for souls of the preacher. Evidently the printed matter of the book is essentially the spoken words as heard by the people, and we pretty surely have a literal reproduction of what was actually spoken, and not simply an edited *résumé* of the discourses toned down into another something. The preacher gives signs of having learned "to speak and write the English tongue correctly," and there is not often found in his utterances any gross violations of syntax, although his speech reveals his early acquaintance with the *patois* of the plantation, which if he has unlearned he certainly has not chosen to disuse. It is also evident that many of his "unclassical" expressions are at least purposed, if not, indeed, studied. There is all along a rather plentiful supply of Southern provincialisms, and now and then a dash of genuine slang, with not a few illustrations decidedly more forcible than elegant.

But in noticing the book we are not at liberty to ignore the fact that thousands of people, many of them not church-goers, were drawn together to hear these sermons, and that the whole city was shaken by their delivery, that the impression produced by them was one of seriousness, and it is believed that very considerable numbers of persons were induced by them to reform their manners, and to begin to lead new and better lives. As an evangelist, the Rev. Sam Jones is pronounced a decided success, not only by the excitable rabble, but by the sober and cultured; and Christian people, both ministers and laymen, gladly accept him as a divinely honored minister of Christ. Probably in the presence of the speaker, and under the spiritual contagion of his magnetic oratory, the faults of his language and imagery and his frequent egregious violations of good taste are less felt than when read in the quiet of the study or at the fireside; and because of the abounding superabundance of what is valuable in his discourses since they are effective of good results, whatever may be objectionable in them is readily waived or scarcely noticed. We are quite ready to grant that any kind of preaching which accomplishes its great design is to be incomparably preferred to any other kind which fails of that result; and therefore, if Sam Jones can persuade men to become Christians we will still give him the heartiest Godspeed, though he should transgress every rule of the grammar-book, and violate every canon of criticism and rule of rhetoric.

It may be lawful, however, to inquire whether this marvelous success is achieved by virtue of his eccentricities or in spite of them? whether they are helps or hinderances? Is it not more than possible that the same pungent truths equally boldly and clearly spoken, but without slang or coarse provincialisms, would operate with equal effectiveness on those who should hear them? Is it necessary, in order to arrest and retain the attention, that the preacher of Christ and his salvation must adopt the measures and methods of the clown in the circus, or the harlequin in the

variety theater? We are by no means prepared to believe that Mr. Jones is consciously doing any thing of this sort, and that his utterances are at once sincere and without affectation. But there is cause to fear that whatever is undesirable in his manners and language, and which even in his case is more harmful than helpful, will be imitated by others who are strangers to the spirit that actuates his utterances.

Reading these red-hot thunder-bolts of truth, hurled so fearlessly by this *evangelist*, we have been led to ask whether this style of preaching might not be adopted to some extent by our pastors in their own pulpits, and addressed to their own congregations. But would the people suffer it? Perhaps, after all, the necessity for evangelists in the Church is, that there may be somewhere somebody that may be allowed to speak the truth, without fear or favor, in the places of those

"Who never mention hell to ears polite."

MISCELLANEOUS.

HARPER'S HANDY SERIES. 18mo volumes, about 200 pages, paper covers (25 cents per volume), are commendable productions, as to both their material and their execution. The series also contains a good share of works of sterling value. Among the late issues, passing by all its fictions and sensational stories, we have such substantial works as Bancroft's "Plea for the Constitution of the United States," "Lord Beaconsfield's Correspondence with his Sister," John Stuart Blackie's two lectures on "What does History Teach?" Dr. John Tulloch's "Movements of Religious Thought in Britain," and "Irish History for English Readers," by William Stephenson Gregg, and also Alphonse Daudet's "Stories of Provence." These are good books, may be held in the hand by the reader, carried in his pocket, and given away after reading. The accompanying announcement, "Sent, carriage paid, to any part of the United States or Canada, on receipt of price," presents a ready opportunity to persons residing at points remote from the centers of trade.

Lives of Greek Statesmen. Second Series. Ephialtes—Hermokrates. By Rev. SIR GEORGE W. COX, Bart., M.A., Author of "A General History of Greece," etc. 16mo, pp. 266. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Between the two names given in the title of this volume are those of Kimon, Perikles, Phormion, Archidamos, Kleon, Brasidas, Demosthenes, and Nikias. The sketches are well drawn, and the book is a valuable contribution to Grecian history.

Preachers' Pilgrimage through Probation, Itineration, Superannuation, to Coronation. By Rev. J. B. ROBINSON, D.D., Ph.D., Author of "Infidelity Answered," etc., Aurora, Ill. 12mo, pp. 95. New York: Phillips & Hunt.

Meditations all along the life-course of a Methodist traveling preacher, with notes by the way. Worth reading—will afford both instruction and amusement. May be used to profit, if read as hints and suggestions, rather than governing regulations.

Letters from the Waldegrave Cottage. By Rev. Geo. W. Nichols, A.M., Author of "Childhood's Memories," etc. 12mo, pp. 178. New York: James Pott & Co.

These letters, personal sketches of persons, places, and events connected with the life and labors of a minister (of the Protestant Episcopal Church), chiefly in village parishes in the regions about New York city, are gossipy, tender, and harmlessly egotistical. It is a book for the private circle rather than the great, unsympathizing public.

Saint Augustine, Melanchthon, Neander: Three Biographies. By Philip Schaff. 12mo, pp. 168. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

Noticing one of Dr. Schaff's many books two months ago, we referred to it as his latest, with a remark added in a parenthesis that perhaps another would appear before the publication of what we then wrote. The present book fulfills that prophecy. This author's dedication of the work to "my beloved students" contains a happy setting forth of the substance and character of the book: "The Church Father, the Reformer, and the Church Historian—three of the best among the great, and of the greatest among the good, as witnesses of the unity of the Spirit in the diversities of gifts, and as inspiring examples of consecration to the service of Christ."

Yard-Stick and Scissors. By Edward A. Rand, Author of "The Knights of the White Shield," etc. (Up-the-Ladder Series.) 12mo, pp. 306. New York: Phillips & Hunt. $1 25.

Annals of the Round Table, and Other Stories. By Jennie M. Bingham. 12mo. Pp. 279. New York: Phillips & Hunt; Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe. $1.

Elegant specimens of the mechanical part of the book-maker's art; their literary matter lies in a region not included in the sphere of the reviewer.

Romish Teachings in the Protestant Churches. A Tract for the Times. Issued for the Author. 12mo, pp. 100. New York: N. Tibbals & Sons. 90 cents.

The Electric Theory of Astronomy. By B. T. Kavanaugh, M.D., D.D., Author of "Notes of a Western Rambler," etc. With an Introduction by Rev. R. H. Rivers, A.M., D.D. 18mo, pp. 241. Cincinnati: Printed for the Author by Cranston & Stowe. $1 25.

The author's theory seems to be that nearly all cosmic action is the result of electricity, of which the sun is the source and center; to state and illustrate this is the purpose of this volume.

Religion in a College: What Place it Should Hold. By James McCosh, LL.D., D.Lit., President of Princeton College. 8vo, pp. 22. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son.

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Open Doors. Hints about Opportunities for Christian Work in Africa, Japan, India, Burmah, China, Mexico, South America, the Turkish Empire, Korea, and the Islands of the Sea. By J. T. Gracey, D.D., Seven Years Missionary in India, etc. 16mo, pp. 64. Rochester, N. Y.

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